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THE REPORT OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

June 1–2, 1966

WASHINGTON, D.C.

UD 002 193

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INTRODUCTION

"Its object will be to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure.

"To move beyond opportunity to achievement.

"To shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice, but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin."

With these words the President of the United States announced his plan to convene the White House Conference *"To Fulfill These Rights."* The time was June 4, 1965; the place, Howard University.

This is a Report of that meeting which took place one year later. It is a distillation of twelve months of intensive study by hundreds of individuals and organizations, and the deliberations of more than 2500 American men and women who assembled in the nation's capital on June 1 and 2, 1966, at the invitation of their President.

It is a blueprint for action hammered out by citizens who recognized the urgent need to pool their knowledge, energy, and resources in an event described by their Honorary Chairman, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, as *"one of the most important held to seek a solution of the Negro problem since the Civil War."*

Who were these people, from where did they come?

They were public officials from city halls, state houses, and Federal offices, and among them were legislators, judges, and government executives.

Some were employers from major national corporations and local retail businesses, home builders, and representatives of major trade groups.

From the ranks of labor came factory and farm workers, officers of local and international unions, and the leaders of the combined union movement.

There were clergy and lay leaders of many religious faiths who recognized the need for moral leadership in the nation's drive toward equality.

From the schools came teachers, administrators, and scholars in all the subjects to be discussed.

Residents of urban and rural areas, who face every day the problems with which the Conference was concerned, were there.

Civil Rights workers, both moderates and militants, and the leaders of a rich variety of men's and women's organizations deeply committed to social and economic justice for all Americans were among them.

Beside them sat the leaders of civic, public service, and professional organizations who have not yet assumed an active role in the battle against racial discrimination.

They were the rich and the poor, Negro and white.

Some were world travelers, others had never before been away from home. They came from the cities, the suburbs, and the rural areas of every state.

The Conference began its work, said Mr. Randolph, at a time *"that the Negro ghettos in every city throughout the nation are areas of tension and socio-racial dynamite."*

"And here we are," he continued, *"assembled in a great conference, to become more deeply involved in what we more and more recognize to be the most tremendous social challenge of conflict and change in our country today—the Civil Rights Revolution."*

There was one common denominator.

It was the recognition that Supreme Court decisions of recent years, and Congressional action in adopting the first Civil Rights laws in almost a century, were but a beginning . . . the foundation on which a better society must be created.

It was the realization that a broad and vigorous attack on the roots of the problem must be mounted if the nation is to meet the goal, stated by the President as *"not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."*

There was no complacency as they addressed themselves to their task.

These meetings were charged with an atmosphere of urgency. There was a conviction that, despite the tremendous gains which had been made in creating a legal framework for equality, the ugly racial crisis facing the nation was quickening in momentum.

The sense of frustration of Negro Americans was reflected in many ways.

Moving personal reports of continuing violations of basic human rights were made by those who had been victimized.

Those from the South were reminded that though the dimensions differed, racism in the North was also effective in barring the doors of opportunity.

The promise of equality was not being translated into reality for Negroes in the cities or in rural areas. The gates to the suburbs were still marked *"white only."*

Where does the answer lie, how can we change direction and eliminate economic insecurity, inferior schooling, decrepit housing, and oppressive law enforcement, they asked?

Part of the responsibility, they felt, rests with state and local government, business and labor, the housing industry, educational institutions, and the wide spectrum of voluntary organizations who, through united effort, have the power to improve our society.

But the overwhelming majority were convinced that the primary burden and the best hope for solutions to economic problems and social tensions rested with the Federal Government.

The feeling that Federal agencies were not meeting their full responsibility in enforcing present laws was made clear in the scores of resolutions introduced which gave examples of schools, hospitals, builders, Federal contractors, unions, state and local governments, and others who are not complying with Civil Rights laws and Executive Orders.

The remedy most often recommended was the greater use of Federal power in withholding and withdrawing funds from those who flaunt the law.

Citing examples of public officials at every level who fail to enforce present laws, the conferees stressed the role of all officeholders—from section chief to Cabinet officer—in making or breaking the nation's civil rights policy. A new effort must be mounted, they said, to see that every county agent, every contracting officer, every employment official, and the tens of thousands who represent Federal policy, realizes that his government intends that he carry out the letter and the spirit of the law.

There was broad conviction that the private sector, both business and labor, is assuming far too little responsibility and leadership.

Why have more businessmen, industrialists, and financiers not seen the stake they have in racial progress?

Why is it that organized labor has not translated its national support for Civil Rights into more decisive action by local as well as international unions?

Two resolutions addressed to the Congress received overwhelming and enthusiastic support from the entire assembly.

One put the Conference on record to strengthen and pass the Civil Rights Act of 1966, now before the Congress. It also urged that funds for Civil Rights enforcement be restored to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The other supported Washington residents in their desire for Home Rule. The conferees could not see how a nation, which has adopted voting rights legislation, could deny these basic rights of citizenship to those who live in the capital city.

At the same time, they demonstrated their unwillingness to consider any matter which was not a basic and vital Civil Rights question by overwhelmingly defeating the Viet Nam issue raised in a few committee meetings.

In charting the future course for the advancement of Civil Rights, the Conference was unanimous in endorsing the Report and Recommendations which had been submitted by the 30-member Council appointed by the President. In their meetings, they strengthened and expanded this basic material and urged that priorities be established.

In carrying the spirit of the Conference home and rededicating themselves to a greater degree of personal responsibility in the days ahead, there was common agreement with Mr. Randolph's prediction that the implementation of the Conference Report *"will constitute a major and powerful thrust giving Negroes the ability to walk through the gate of opportunity and achieve first class citizenship in America."*

"In our quest," the President told the conferees in a message addressed to every American, *"let each man give whatever he has to give.*

"If it be the courage to endure the scorn of bigots, let him give that.

"If it be the wisdom and the patience to teach children that are born into blight and suffering, then let him give that.

"If it be the chance of a job and the training it requires, then let him give that.

"If it be the willingness to change old ways and to hear the cry of those in need, let him give that.

"If it be the power to pass new laws, or to enforce and execute old laws with conviction and fairness and justice, then let him give that."

STATEMENT BY THE COUNCIL TO THE CONFERENCE

In convening this White House Conference *"To Fulfill These Rights,"* the President has summoned a broadly respresentative cross section of America to a momentous undertaking. He has asked us to exercise all the collective wisdom we possess to devise and set in motion an action program for citizens and communities across the country. The objective, as simple to define as it is difficult to achieve, is to translate the promise of equality into reality for millions of Negro Americans.

Fortunately, we have the benefit of much sound preparatory work. In anticipation of this Conference, the President last fall called a Planning Session to explore the widest possible range of ideas in this field. The Session was held on November 17 and 18, 1965.

A. Philip Randolph served as honorary chairman and Morris B. Abrams and William T. Coleman, Jr. were co-chairman by appointment of the President.

Some 200 scholars and practitioners in the areas of civil rights, labor, business, education, religion, and social welfare met for intensive working sessions on eight subjects of major concern. The result was a comprehensive set of recommendations reflecting a rich variety of viewpoints and experience.

In February the President appointed a 30-member Council, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ben W. Heineman and the honorary chairmanship of Mr. A. Philip Randolph, to set the policies and oversee the detailed planning for the White House Conference. An able staff and a number of consultants reviewed and refined the recommendations of the Planning Session and conducted the other preparatory work for the Conference. At every stage of the planning, they were guided by the Council's determinations.

The Council met on evenings and weekends for extended review and discussion of plans and proposals submitted by the staff. The format of the Conference, the subjects to be considered, this Report and the recommendations it embodies—all are the results of this thoughtful process. Thus what you are asked to consider here, and the way in which your deliberations are organized, represent the considered judgments of the Council as the policy-making body of the Conference.

Some of the judgments were difficult to make. The President has accurately described the problems confronting Negro Americans as *"a seamless web."* The strands of this web reach into every area of American life, and none of these interrelated aspects of the problem is without its urgent and anguishing features. Yet no single conference could productively trace the thread of Negro disadvantage through the whole fabric of society. In order to achieve a common focus on specific action efforts, it was necessary to select a manageable number of areas of concentration.

There will be many other meetings and

conferences, private and governmental, national and local, at which problems of racial injustice and inequality and alternative approaches to them will be considered. Therefore, it was not judged necessary that this Conference diffuse and dilute its efforts by trying to deal with the entire range of problems and possible solutions that are worthy of discussion. Rather, the objective was to focus on a few vital areas in which the results can be far-reaching. This was a major task confronting the Council, and it received fullest consideration.

The resulting conclusion was that the Conference should direct its primary attention to four critical subject-matter areas—economic security and welfare, education, housing, and administration of justice. It was also decided that there should be developed in each of these areas a limited number of specific proposals for local action to which the conferees could then commit their efforts in their own communities to actions which will achieve early important effects.

The Council's Report is designed to serve these purposes. It seeks to summarize, succinctly but thoroughly, the chief problems in each subject area that deny Negroes their full share of participation in the life of the nation. It defines the broad goals that must be attained if we are to realize *"not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and a result."* It details major actions that need to be taken by various elements of our society—by government at all levels; by private groups, such as business, labor, religious, and voluntary organizations; and, in some instances, by private citizens, themselves, acting individually.

Finally, the Council proposes several specific local activities in each area on which Conference participants and other public-spirited citizens may concentrate their efforts.

As the Report clearly indicates, there is no intention to slight the importance of governmental action, whether Federal, state, or local. The need for additional legislation, administrative changes, and executive leadership at all three levels of government has been extensively treated; the proposals in this category and the Conference reactions to them will be transmitted to the President and will be made available to state and local public officials.

But the Conference would fail in its main purpose if it did no more than that. Governmental action, however forceful and creative, cannot succeed unless it is accompanied by a mobilization of effort by private citizens and the organizations and institutions through which they express their will. Indeed, the role of government itself is in large part determined by the presence or absence of such citizen efforts.

That is why the major emphasis of this Conference must be on immediate, practical steps to enlist in this cause the great mass of uncommitted, uninvolved Americans.

That is why we must not end these discussions without a common resolve to return to our communities and undertake those specific actions for which our varied interests and positions best fit us.

All reactions, comments, and suggestions of the participants will be recorded verbatim and transcribed immediately after each session. Thus all of the views expressed will be available for careful study and faithful reflection in the report to the President which will be prepared and submitted after the Conference.

Fortunately, we do not have to spend a great amount of time defining the problems with which we must deal; they have been described, analyzed, and discussed at length in many forums and in the preparatory stages of this Conference. Nor do we need to expend our energies convincing one another that the conditions suffered by most Negro Americans are intolerable; the President has presented that case in the most eloquent, moving, and urgent of terms. That is why we are here.

The challenge before us now is to chart a course of action to which every thoughtful American can subscribe.

GOALS OF THE CONFERENCE

No single document can anticipate the views of as large a cross section of American life as is represented at this White House Conference.

In submitting this Report to the Conference, the Council has identified problem areas which deserve priority attention. It has concentrated its action recommendations on programs offering the greatest promise of success in eliminating barriers that prevent the Negro's full participation in our society.

As you discuss these subjects, we look to you for more ideas and new approaches, for firsthand reports on constructive programs which have worked in your community, business, or agency.

This Conference should mark the beginning of a more meaningful dialog in every home, neighborhood, union hall, place of business, organization meeting, state house, and city hall—as well as here in Washington.

The time has passed when we can afford the luxury of limiting ourselves to studying and discussing *"the problem."*

The business of these meetings is to chart a course of action, to stimulate the massive national effort called for by the President.

At the same time, we ask that you also listen. Many of the proposals made, the experiences shared, will demonstrate what you can do in your own community. There is no reason for delay before you translate the best of these approaches into action.

In our diverse society it is the citizen who leads. It is to this mobilization of spirit, commitment, and resources that we must address ourselves.

That is why we are here.

In convening this Conference, the President said that *"its object will be to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."*

We will need new Federal legislation and more executive action. Every section of this Report deals with these needs as well as the necessity for better enforcement of present laws and more realistic funding.

There is no question that much remains to be accomplished by our national government.

But these recommendations should not blind us to a central issue. It is that the national government's response to the compelling cry of the Negro American for justice and true equality has not been matched by state and local government, by business and labor, the housing industry, educational institutions, and the wide spectrum of voluntary organizations who, through united effort, have the power to improve our society.

In the struggle for equality, we must now move to new and different battlefields in every city and its suburbs, in rural areas, and in every state.

Only you and your organizations and institutions can make this come to pass. Each of us has a role to play.

State and local governments should recognize the need to recapture the initiative and leadership they have lost by inaction. It is not enough to wait for Federal action and Federal funds, although these are essential and are becoming increasingly available. They must be stimulated to act on the many roadblocks which only they can clear in housing, education, health, welfare, the administration of justice, and economic security.

Legislators and administrators in every branch of state and local government must recognize the crisis they face in the nation's drive for equality. They should proceed to implement the recommendations in this Report.

In the private sector, more affirmative action is needed from businessmen, industrialists, and financiers. Though many of the larger corporations are working to develop local merit employment councils, vocational and counseling services, and motivational programs, most local business has not yet seen the stake it has in racial progress.

The business community must improve its communication with Negro Americans. Affirmative action programs should be agenda item number one for every employer, every trade association, and every local chamber of commerce.

Organized labor has a responsibility to translate its national support for Civil Rights into more decisive action by international and local unions. There is a need to make seniority more flexible, widen the doors of apprenticeship training, and renegotiate discriminatory contracts. Many unions can best demonstrate their commitment to equality by promoting qualified Negro members to responsible positions.

Every segment of the housing industry needs to join in a serious reappraisal of the role housing now plays in impeding racial progress. Builders, investors, union officials, economists, and public officials must join hands in closing the gap between incomes and housing costs. Their support is imperative in the fight for open, racially unrestricted housing in suburban areas as well as the central city.

Similarly, quality education for all will never become a fact without a greater commitment by teachers and administrators, school boards, and state and local officials. Innovation is essential in eliminating racial concentrations, improving teacher training and textbooks, and bringing about a greater interdependence among the educational units within our metropolitan areas.

Every one of us has a job to do in providing support for greater educational opportunity for all children and in improving the dialog between the schools and the community.

In the area of individual citizen and organization action, those identified with civil rights, religious, and labor organizations have played the major role thus far in awakening the nation's conscience and in supporting positive action.

But to accomplish our goal new allies must be found. Leadership must now include the representatives of local business, labor unions, civic and veterans associations, neighborhood groups, and other components of our diverse society in villages as well as cities, including organizations of men, women and youth.

Negroes and other minorities have a crucial role to play in this battle for true equality. As the gates of opportunity are opened, all who have been denied must seek to improve their education, housing and employment. Opportunities for leadership must be sought in elective and appointive office; in trade, professional and civic organizations; in business firms and labor unions. The Negro American needs to recognize his responsibility for affirmative action by becoming totally involved in every level of our society.

The target for citizen action should be to support and stimulate meaningful advancement on all of the fronts covered in these recommendations.

To the battles in the courts and in Congress a new dimension should be added—state legislatures, city councils, and the executive agencies of both.

But more than lip service is needed today. Every organization, institution, and agency can make a contribution by using its hiring and purchasing power to promote affirmative action. This direct involvement could produce immediate and beneficial results in every community.

In this civic mobilization, the need for a better informed public is imperative. It is not enough to talk about Civil Rights. Commitment to change can only be secured through a massive public education program. In this effort, we call upon the nation's press and broadcasters for advice and support.

The Council believes that the massive effort required to bring equal opportunity and achievement to Negro Americans will require the active partnership of every segment of our nation. Only by coordinated planning and direction can we hope to achieve the maximum effort which will be required by existing institutions and organizations.

We must find a better way for the varied interests represented here to pool their knowledge, energy, and influence. Without this catalyst, we may find that everyone's business has become no one's business.

Existing Federal agencies could make a valuable contribution to this dialog between and among all private and public groups across the country. There is need for better Federal interagency planning and coordination of programs as they affect local communities and organizations.

Among the Federal agencies which should be more directly involved in this follow up are the Civil Rights Commission, with its network of state advisory councils and clearing house responsibilities; the Community Relations Service, which works at the community level; the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; the Departments of Labor; Commerce; Housing and Urban Development; Health, Education and Welfare; and others.

America has demonstrated many times the ability of its citizens to respond to challenge, to join forces in a common cause.

What is needed is a full understanding of the issues, a sense of commitment, a determination to find solutions.

There will be disagreement on methods some of us use to accomplish our common goal. But dissent, and the variety of approaches we use, can provide strength to the massive public and private effort that will be required if we, as a nation, are to *"Fulfill These Rights."*

A NOTE ON THE CONFERENCE REPORT

A thorough and extensive consultative process on the major aspects of Civil Rights, including the convening of a national Planning Session in November 1965, preceded the arrival in Washington of the more than 2500 participants in the White House Conference.

The results of this study, the Report and Recommendations of the Council, has been made available to all conferees in advance of the Conference. It was the foundation for the effective and decisive action called for in the two-day meeting.

Upon registering, each participant was assigned to one of twelve working committees, all having a common agenda. Thus, every person in attendance had an opportunity to discuss each of the four priority subjects, with time being provided for the workshops to discuss additional matters considered of equal urgency.

At the suggestion of some participants, the Council changed the original plan and provided that each Committee set time aside in its final session for the consideration of resolutions designed to express the participants' sense of urgency about additional action required to achieve a just, free, and equal society.

In addition, three general sessions were held where the entire assembly heard addresses by the President of the United States, the Vice President, Honorary Chairman A. Philip Randolph, Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall, and Council Member Roy Wilkins.

Each committee voted to support the Recommendations of the Council. In recommending the adoption and immediate implementation of the Council's Report, there was recognition that it did not *"represent a precise or inflexible prescription for action or exhaust all the means open to the nation in its continuing commitment 'To Fulfill These Rights'."*

The four sections of the Council's Report and Recommendations to the Conference—Economic Security and Welfare, Education, Housing, and Administration of Justice—have been reprinted in the report. Each section is followed by a summary of pertinent Conference discussions.

It should be noted that the comments quoted in these discussion summaries represent the views of participants. No effort has been made to establish the factual accuracy of the statements.

Though many of the resolutions considered in the committees are incorporated in the discussion summaries, a round-up of all the approved and a few of the defeated resolutions is being furnished to all persons invited to the Conference.

In addition, the entire verbatim transcript of all meetings, numbering more than 5000 pages, and the full text of all resolutions, are being submitted to the White House. This official record includes the text of all resolutions submitted, including those which were not acted on because of time limitations.

This permanent record of the Conference will be a matter of public record.

Before completing its assignment, the Council requested its staff to further analyze the proceedings in terms of complaints and recommendations directed toward Federal agencies. These will be brought to the attention of the officials concerned.

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE—

COUNCIL'S REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

There is no more ugly and urgent crisis facing this Nation today than the economic insecurity of Negro Americans. An unending cycle of human devastation and national loss is at the core of this crucial problem.

The employment and income problems of the Negro population are complex, long-standing, and rooted deeply in economic, social, and political disabilities. More than anything else, they are the consequence of cumulative disadvantages imposed by racial discrimination in employment, education, training, and housing. To solve these problems, creative and large-scale action must be taken to achieve *full and fair employment* for the Negro working-age population, and equal opportunity, decent living standards, and security for all of the nation's Negro citizens. *This action is urgently needed.* And it should be reinforced by measures to reach and sustain full employment in the national economy as a whole.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

Negro unemployment is of disaster proportions. Even in today's booming economy, the unemployment rate for Negroes is about seven percent—more than twice the average for whites. Average annual unemployment among Negroes has not fallen below eight percent since 1953. The gap between whites and nonwhites is even greater for married people and heads of households (particularly women) who are most in need of a job to support their families.

Negroes only comprise eleven percent of the nation's labor force, but make up more than twenty percent of the nation's unemployed. In some areas such as Watts in Los Angeles, the rate of unemployment among Negroes is as high as forty percent.

Not only is unemployment higher among Negroes, but they tend to be out-of-work for longer periods than whites. They also suffer heavily from underemployment, including part-time work, substandard pay, and the necessity of accepting jobs below their skill or educational potentials.

The most serious unemployment problem is the shocking incidence of *joblessness among Negro youths.* Although this problem has been decreasing in recent months, fully 19 percent of out-of-school Negro youths aged 16 to 21 were unemployed in April 1966. This is twice the rate for white youths and it means that thousands of young Negro people who are actively looking for jobs cannot find a productive place in our society.

The unemployment rate for Negro youths aged 16–19 is nothing less than catastrophic, averaging more than 30 percent for girls and almost 25 percent for male teenagers in 1965. Female Negro teenagers have a higher rate of unemployment than all other sub-groups in the labor force.

The unemployment statistics do not tell the full story of wasted human resources. Many Negroes who are counted among the employed are actually involuntarily working only part-time, and lack a full measure of economic security. Another problem is that even under conditions of relatively full employment a significant proportion of teenagers and adults in the Negro working age population leave the labor force because they have given up hope of locating decent jobs. Despite their idleness, this group is also not counted as unemployed in the official statistics.

Given these dimensions alone—the statistically defined unemployment rate, involuntary part-time employment, and idle members of the working age population—indications are that the actual total unemployment rate among Negroes approximates 12 percent of the working age population. *This rate of unemployment is of crisis proportions,* particularly in the urban centers.

The *economic loss* to the entire nation, although a secondary consideration, cannot be ignored. If Negro unemployment were lowered to the current unemployment level of whites, the resulting gain in the Gross National Product would be $5 billion. If the average productivity of the Negro labor force equaled that of white, the resulting gain in the GNP would be $22 billion. These gains, totaling $27 billion, do not include the further increment that would result if Negroes obtained jobs commensurate with their abilities and training. However, some investment is necessary to achieve these gains.

This annual economic loss is the result of discrimination—past and present. The losses translate themselves at the community level into depressed purchasing power for goods and services, social tensions, and the high costs of welfare assistance, delinquency and idleness.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE NEGRO LABOR FORCE

The Negro's disadvantages do not end when he finds a job. Even when he is employed he tends to work in low-skill, low-wage occupations and industries with the lowest growth rates and the most limited opportunities for advancement and mobility. And Negro working women are poorest of the working poor.

In recent years, technological change and other job market conditions have led to a rising demand for skilled craftsmen, white collar workers, and service workers, while reducing opportuniites for unskilled and semiskilled labors. In particular, the technical, professional, clerical, sales, and related white collar occupations have shown rapid growth. Yet, it is precisely in the skilled and white collar occupations that the Negroes are heavily under-represented, while they are concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled labor categories in which job opportunities are most restricted.

Only one-fifth of all nonwhite workers hold white collar jobs, compared with almost one-half of all white workers. Only seven percent of all Negro workers are in the professional and technical category—half the proportion among whites. Only three percent of the nonwhite are managers, officials, or proprietors, compared with eleven percent of the whites. The figures for clerical workers are nine percent versus seventeen percent; for sales workers, two percent versus seven percent; for skilled craftsmen, seven percent versus thirteen percent.

By contrast, twelve percent of all Negro workers are nonfarm laborers—three times the proportion of whites. And nonwhites are heavily represented among migratory and other seasonal farm workers and small tenant farmers who face severe underemployment, substandard earnings, and eventtual replacement by new agricultural technology on large farms.

Negroes, especially Negro women, are heavily concentrated in the service occupations, which have shown rising manpower needs. However, they tend to be employed at household service, custodial, and other low-paid work rather than in the higher-paid service occupations.

To keep abreast of new technological demands and changes in occupational requirements, *a fundamental alteration in the occupational structure of the Negro labor force is necessary.* Otherwise, even in a full employment economy severe problems of economic insecurity are likely to continue.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

A major problem in improving the occupational status of the Negro labor force is its relatively low average educational attainment. In 1962, for example, less than one-third of the nonwhite members of the labor force had completed high school, compared with a majority of the whites.

The school "drop-out" rate is a particularly severe problem among todays youth. Some three-fifths of out-of-school nonwhite youths aged 16 to 21 lack high school diplomas. In this era of technological advance and complex job requirements, "drop-outs" have twice the unemployment rates of high school graduates. When they are employed, they work for less pay and are more subject to layoffs and displacement by machines.

Although educational attainment has shown continuous improvement in successive generations, *achievements in occupational status and earnings by Negro workers have not kept pace.* The average Negro male with 16 or more years of school earns an annual income less than that earned by a white male with ten years of school.

INCOME LEVELS

The income of the average Negro family is little more than half of the white family income. It is true that the Negro income level is rising, with greatest progress in Northern and Western urban areas. However, the rapid rise of incomes among whites has prevented a narrowing of the income gap between the races. Even when whites and Negroes are employed in the same occupation, and have had the same number of years of schooling, the average incomes of the two groups show this disparity.

POPULATION AND LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS

Today there are more than 20 million Negro Americans. They comprise more than one-tenth of the nation's total population.

There are some 8.5 million Negroes in the labor force; i.e., employed or looking for jobs. They include about 3.5 million women. By 1970, the total is expected to reach ten million.

The figure of 8.5 million Negroes in the labor force, however, presents an incomplete picture. *Many members of the working age population are not in the labor force but could be if jobs and incentives in the form of decent earnings were consistently available to them.* Thus, eight percent of all Negro men aged 25 to 64 were not in the labor force in 1963, compared with only five percent of comparable whites. On the other hand, the proportion of Negro women who work or seek jobs is considerably higher than the proportion of whites, since more of the former are primary family wage earners or must supplement the wages of their husbands.

The Negro population is now a predominantly urban one. About three-fourths of all Negroes live in urban areas, mainly in larger cities with populations of more than 50,000. The six cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles alone account for one-fifth of all Negro people. There are 18 cities in which 100,000 or more Negroes live—these cities account for almost one-third of the total Negro population.

The concentration of Negroes in largely segregated areas of central cities, while white residents, industrial establishments, and offices move toward the suburbs, constitutes an important factor in framing proposals to improve economic and welfare conditions.

The heavy out-movement of Negroes from the South in search of better economic, educational, social, and political status (3.3 million left the South between 1940 and 1965) is an important factor in planning action programs. However, over one-half of all Negroes still live in the Southern States, and there are recent indications that the rate of out-migration is decreasing.

Most of the Negroes who still live in rural areas are in the South. Even in that region, however, almost three-fifths of all Negro people are urban residents. In 1960, two out of every five residents of Birmingham, Atlanta, and New Orleans were Negroes.

While urban problems must command an increasing proportion of our attention, we cannot overlook two facts. *First, many of the hard-core economic security and welfare problems Negroes face are in rural areas. Second, those rural migrants who find their way into the stream of urban life bring with them problems which impede significantly their ability to adjust to present and future urban labor markets.* The adjustment problems of the migrants are due, in part, to the failure of most urban areas to prepare for the influx of new residents and to take steps to ease their transition to urban life.

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

There is no single, simple, or quick solution for the economic problems of Negroes but nothing less than a broadly based "crash" program can significantly improve the life-chances of hundreds of thousands of Negro Americans now trapped in joblessness and poverty. The range of action needed to achieve an adequate level of employment and income security must cover the multifaceted problems of many different subgroups. Assistance to jobless Negro youths would not be adequate to meet the needs of underemployed Negro adults. Action to help farmers and farm workers would not necessarily improve the lot of people seeking work in metropolitan areas. Lowering bars against Negro women in professional employment must be paralleled by upgrading pay and status of the nearly one million Negro women in household employment. Programs to aid the unemployed mother who depends on public assistance for a livelihood are not likely to enhance opportunities for the Negro professional or businessman. Lasting solutions must be tailored, therefore, to the particular needs of specific components of the Negro population.

Moreover, it must be re-emphasized that the economic problems Negroes share with other disadvantaged workers are compounded for Negroes by the continuing widespread presence of racial segregation and racial discrimination. Because of the effects of discrimination and ghetto life, solutions must go beyond strictly economic measures and be related to social, political, and psychological needs.

There is mounting awareness—reflected for example, in the nation's "War on Poverty"—that conventional programs to solve the employment needs of Negroes must be accompanied by a wide range of *supportive services* designed to instill favorable work attitudes and fill gaps in basic education, solve health and family problems, and overcome other barriers to the individual's labor force adjustments.

Recommendations to improve the economic security and welfare of the Negro people must take into account the magnitude of the Negro's disadvantages in the job market, the wide gap between the income and employment status of whites and nonwhites, and the changing characteristics and geographic distribution of the Negro population and labor force. They must take into account sharp and decisive advances in technology and other such forces which generate abundant benefits to some and disproportionate burdens to others.

In preparing the recommendations in the following pages, consideration has been given to all the fundamental factors underlying the Negro's economic disadvantages. *A wide-ranging battery of specific and realistic actions is proposed, calculated to achieve sharp progress on a variety of fronts—jobs, training, supportive services, labor standards, income maintenance, public assistance, and others.* The document presented here, however, makes no attempt to set forth a detailed rationale for every recommendation.

Attention is called to one fundamental point which underlies the various specific proposals in this report. This point, which must be stressed, is that measures to improve the economic security and welfare of Negroes take effect most rapidly in a healthy, growing, full employment economy. The availability of jobs at fair wages to all who need them eases the task of eliminating discrimination, upgrading the Negro work force, raising labor standards, and providing income security. Consequently, the attainment and maintenance of *a full employment economy is an item of continuing high priority.*

Action recommended in this report involves all sectors of the American community—business enterprises and organized labor; Federal as well as state and local governments; educational bodies; private foundations; community organizations such as churches and health and welfare groups; and the spectrum of national associations as well as Negro organizations and groups themselves. The intention is to mobilize the nation's brainpower and material resources for a systematic and many-sided effort to eliminate the barriers that prevent the full participation of Negro men and women in the economic and social process.

I. ESTABLISH METROPOLITAN JOBS COUNCILS IN ALL MAJOR URBAN AREAS TO PLAN, COORDINATE, AND IMPLEMENT LOCAL PROGRAMS TO INCREASE JOBS

WHY THE RECOMMENDATION IS NEEDED

No longer can access to a job or the acquisition of a job by Negroes be left to chance. Large scale and systematic efforts by employers, labor unions, and other community groups to provide and sustain a climate within which Negroes can get more and better jobs are necessary. To make these efforts effective, and to coordinate them with training, welfare, and other services, it is necessary to develop a new approach whereby local leadership can be mobilized for planning and action.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

Metropolitan Jobs Councils should be established in each major urban area with a substantial Negro population. With urgent support from the highest levels of the national government, the initiative in establishing such councils should be taken promptly in all major cities of the United States.

Membership of the Councils should include representatives of business, organized labor, metropolitan governments, education and training institutions, and other appropriate community organizations. Each Council should be free to develop its own organization and sources of funds, including foundations, business and labor contributions, and government grants. Technical assistance should be made available to the Councils by the U.S. Department of Labor.

The Councils should be concerned with developing accurate information on the Negro labor force and its job opportunities in the area, helping to coordinate and improve existing government and private programs to meet the economic needs of the community's Negro population, and planning programs and resources to provide additional services. The Councils should complement and assist the efforts of the Employment Service and private groups such as the Urban League, while its assumption of key functions should make it possible to reduce the number of overlapping local agencies.

The Councils should develop and keep up-to-date a Metropolitan Human Resources Action Program for the community. This Program, based on accurate information on the characteristics and needs of Negro workers, should include:

1. Review and coordination of existing manpower and economic security programs in the area;
2. Identification of gaps in existing program services;
3. Definite goals on the number and types of Negro workers for whom

employment, training, and other services are to be obtained over specified periods;

4. A listing of the specific actions and resources needed to meet these goals;
5. Assignments of definite responsibilities to participating groups for taking the necessary actions;
6. Definite priorities and timetables for actions to improve the employment opportunities and economic conditions of Negroes in the community.

The following illustrate the urgent and important activities that should be included in the Program.

1. The Councils should take positive steps to ensure that the business community, labor organizations, and government agencies assume maximum responsibility for expanding job opportunities for Negro workers. This should involve the acceptance by each employer of definite targets for employing and upgrading Negro workers. Technical assistance should be provided by the Councils to help employers make positive efforts to recruit Negro workers, review the potentials for promotion of Negro workers who are already employed, *restructure vacant jobs* to help Negro workers meet job requirements, expand employer training activities, and *eliminate unnecessarily rigid hiring specifications* such as artificial test criteria. Close cooperation between employers and Human Resource Development Centers should be arranged, with employers participating in efforts to adapt job opportunities to the particular needs and characteristics of the hard-core workers referred to them by the Center.

2. The Councils should establish or arrange for Human Resources Development Centers in areas of substantial Negro unemployment. In addition to programs aimed at large groups of workers, these Centers should take an *individualized* approach to the job, training, and related needs of workers with especially severe job market problems. The Centers should develop means of reaching disadvantaged Negro workers and encouraging them to utilize their services. Services should include diagnosis of the problems and needs that interfere with job seeking and adjustment of individual workers; intensive counseling; referral to health, welfare, or other services; referral to appropriate remedial education or training facilities; specialized job development services and placement of unemployed workers on jobs under continuing supervision by Center personnel. The stress should be on long-term continuous contact between counselors and disadvantaged workers, following-up closely on each worker's employment status and progress on the job, and consulting regularly with the employers involved to solve human relations problems.

3. The Councils should assume leadership in the local implementation of a national year-round youth job placement program, recommended in section V, below. It should also assume leadership or participate actively in other manpower, economic security, or related programs affecting Negroes, such as those directed at meeting manpower shortages and surpluses, and community economic development programs.

4. The Councils should arrange for surveys in Negro high-unemployment areas to study worker characteristics, potentials, and employment and training needs. The surveys should also identify special problems in such areas as health, housing, child care,

transportation, and illiteracy. In areas where disadvantaged workers are concentrated, a door-to-door survey approach may be advisable.

5. The Councils should develop a system of periodic reports from local employers to identify jobs and occupations in which unemployed Negroes may find employment, to provide data on hiring, employment levels, and occupational status of Negro workers, and assist in developing occupational training programs to help Negro applicants qualify for employment or upgrading.

6. The Councils should provide leadership in efforts to improve the processes and institutions of the job market, including:

a. Analyzing transportation facilities and fares to identify improvements needed to make all jobs in the community accessible to Negro residential areas;

b. Analyzing the kind of information on employment opportunities which is available to Negro workers, and developing improved means of communication in this area, adapted to the special needs of disadvantaged ghetto residents;

c. Working with local educational authorities to improve the quality and availability of vocational education in the area's public schools.

7. The Councils should *conduct an extensive program of public education to combat prejudice and discrimination affecting the economic status of the Negro.*

II. CREATE A RURAL JOBS TASK FORCE TO DEVELOP AND COORDINATE A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR RURAL NEGROES

WHY THE RECOMMENDATION IS NEEDED

For several decades the economic position of the southern Negro farmer and other rural residents has grown steadily worse. A substantial proportion of the more than four million Negroes still living in southern rural areas are impoverished. Approximately 25,000 Negro farmers, some 10 percent of all Negro farmers in the South, have crops of sufficient commercial value to support their families above the subsistence level; the proportion among Southern white farmers is three times as great. At the same time thousands of less fortunate rural Negro families eke out an existence as marginal farmers, casual laborers, or welfare recipients on nonproductive farmland or in the fringes of small towns and cities. Still others are subjected to the harsh and ill-rewarded life which is still the lot of most of America's migrant workers. Poorly educated, poorly housed, victims of mechanization, shrinking acreage allotments, and racial prejudice; many impoverished Negro rural families move into the cities where they are least equipped to become self-supporting and well-adjusted members of the urban community.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

Because the problems involved are approaching crisis proportions, and because of the special nature of the problems themselves, the Conference urgently recommends the *appointment of an emergency Rural Jobs Task Force* whose first report, with action recommendations, should be due no later than *September 1, 1966.*

This Task Force should include representatives of private groups, state and local governments, and appropriate Federal officials concerned with rural problems, with full representation from the geographic regions in which the problems are most severe.

The Task Force should focus on developing programs to provide jobs and other economic assistance for rural Negroes, to eliminate job handicaps caused by discriminatory denials of opportunity, to increase the effectiveness of existing government agricultural programs in meeting the needs of disadvantaged rural people, and to facilitate the economic and social adjustment of rural families moving to urban areas.

Specifically, the Task Force should recommend prompt and practical steps by which private and public resources can be used to:

1. Provide Negroes who are engaged in or who wish to engage in the operation of commercial or subsistence farms with means and incentives for achieving successful farm ownership and management. Such a pro-

gram should include combinations of loans, grants, training, counseling, and technical assistance. It should be closely coordinated with programs to provide off-farm part-time job opportunities to rural people, to assist farm cooperatives, and with other related activities indicated below.

2. Provide technical and financial assistance for farm operators' marketing and housing cooperatives in rural farm and nonfarm areas. Financial assistance should include long-term low-cost loans.

3. Improve and accelerate action to remove all racially discriminatory practices in the administering of Federal programs and other publicly and privately supported programs affecting the lives of rural residents. Among other steps, this should include the appointment of Negroes to responsible positions on state and local advisory, planning, or action bodies established under Federal programs and as senior-level county agents.

4. Provide intensive job training programs, directly tied to the new job opportunities stimulated by local and regional economic planning—such training to be accompanied by provision of adequate living income for trainees and their families.

5. Ensure that jobs created by local economic development programs are open to Negroes on an equal opportunity basis.

6. Provide part-time or off-season work opportunities in rural areas for farmers and hired farm workers, to supplement their incomes from agriculture. Such jobs financed mainly by Federal, state, or local government funds, should provide socially useful work in such fields as area beautification, conservation, and public services.

7. Revise agricultural price support and production stabilization programs to insure that operators of small farms receive adequate assistance; to require farm employers to pass on some of their gains from government programs to their hired farm workers in the form of higher wages and more adequate labor standards; and to provide adjustment allowances and other assistance to hired workers and small farm operators adversely affected by agricultural support programs.

8. Sharply upgrade the substandard conditions under which migratory workers and their families are employed, housed and educated by (a) improving government education, vocational training, health, and housing programs for migrants, such as those conducted under the Economic Opportunity Act; (b) strengthening labor standards legislation; (c) developing new institutions and practices to rationalize the job market and to provide year-round employment opportunities for seasonal farm workers; and (d) continuing the progress made in reducing the use of foreign farm workers on U.S. farms.

9. Facilitate the Economic and Social Adjustment of Rural Negroes Migrating to the City by (a) establishment of centers in rural surplus labor areas, with technical and financial assistance provided by the Federal Government and private institutions, to help potential migrants make advance arrangements for jobs and housing and to provide vocational and personal counseling for would-be migrants; (b) expanded county agent and home demonstration agent programs, in both rural and city areas, designed to help rural Negroes secure employment in cities and to cope with the transition from rural to urban life; and (c) development of reception facilities by local governments and community organizations in urban labor demand areas. These facilities should be

equipped to help the rural in-migrant solve employment and housing problems; to make available to them the range of health, welfare and other urban services; and to provide temporary quarters (Halfway Houses, Youth Hostels) for youthful and adult migrants during the initial adjustment period.

10. For the aged or physically disabled low-income farmer who cannot take steps to improve his economic security, provide a system of supplemental income payments which, combined with farm earnings, will yield a decent standard of family living.

11. Provide "Domestic Peace Corps" programs for rural residents in economically depressed areas, including expansion of the VISTA program, utilization of the proposed Teacher Corps, and other private and government approaches.

12. Provide for the establishment of permanent local or regional Rural Jobs Councils which will assist in implementing and reviewing programs initiated under the Rural Jobs Task Force.

III. DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE HUMAN RESOURCE PROGRAM TO SET GOALS, TO MEASURE PROGRESS, AND TO STRUCTURE THE ACTION UNDERTAKEN "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

WHY THE RECOMMENDATION IS NEEDED

Effective *action* programs must be based on systematic planning which mobilizes all available resources, selects specific goals, and schedules the necessary activities in accordance with definite timetables and priorities. Moreover, the component parts of overall programs must be effectively coordinated to attain maximum impact. The recommendation for a Comprehensive Human Resource Program is intended to meet these requirements. It will provide a flexible basis for creative action; serve as a guide in developing new manpower, economic, or related legislation; help to alert local and national planners to emerging problems or trends; and provide guidelines for manpower program actions by business, organized labor, local and state governments, and other agencies.

The Program also is intended to insure that all relevant data on the characteristics, needs, employment, unemployment, training, and job opportunities of Negro workers are considered; that the experience of existing private and government manpower and economic programs is reviewed; and that the available information is translated into proposals for specific program activities. The intention is to develop carefully planned and coordinated steps, to structure training and job opportunities for Negroes, rather than adopt scattered, unrelated programs which have only limited, temporary impact.

The need for a Comprehensive Human Resource Program is pointed up by recent experience in the Watts section of Los Angeles. After the riots, private and public groups went to Watts for the purpose of determining what programs were needed to eliminate Negro social and economic problems which, it was generally assumed, were causal factors underlying the riots. One of the immediate problems which confronted the groups was the absence of basic information on the Watts population, on factors influencing its labor status, on its access to jobs and training, and on the impact of private, local and state government, and Federal manpower and economic programs in the area. This information would have been more readily available if a Comprehensive Human Resource Program had been in existence.

Major thrust for implementation of the recommendation must come from the Federal Government, particularly the United States Department of Labor. *However, a Comprehensive Human Resource Program in the final analysis strongly involves action in local areas.* This includes the provision of basic planning information by local employers, labor unions, other community groups and governments; the proposal of new action and approaches; and the development and adjustment of local activities to take into account the guidelines of the national Program. In particular, Metropolitan Jobs Councils and Rural Jobs Councils should relate their plans and programs closely to the national-level Comprehensive Human Resource Program. (See Recommendations I and II above.)

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

1. The U.S. Department of Labor should assume leadership in developing and conducting an effective program for collecting and analyzing information on the number, characteristics, employment, unemployment, and job opportunities of Negro workers. This program should focus most heavily on the working age population of the 70-odd cities in which most urban Negroes are concentrated and on the 5 or 6 Southern States in which most rural Negroes live. Data should be obtained for *both urban and rural areas,* and on a *neighborhood basis* in areas of heavy unemployment and underemployment. The current gap in employment and unemployment statistics by race on an area basis should be promptly filled, and this information made available to help local agencies plan to meet their manpower needs.

2. The Department of Labor should develop and keep up-to-date a Human Resource Budget:

   a. Identifying the number, types, and problems of Negro youths, unskilled workers, older workers, women, and other specific groups of the working age population in need of intensive manpower services;
   b. Establishing specific goals and timetables for providing these services;
   c. Determining the extent to which existing government and non-government programs can help meet the goals;
   d. Indicating the additional programs, services, and resources needed to fill program gaps and to meet the goals;
   e. Assigning definite priorities and targets for action by specific agencies.

3. The Human Resource Budget should include short and long run estimates of expected employment and unemployment by race, major industry, area, and occupation; estimates of the need for government action to supplement expected employment opportunities; and definite program plans for Federally financed public works or service employment opportunities in advance of serious manpower dislocations at the local or national level.

4. The Department of Labor should prepare periodic reports systematically evaluating the progress of Negroes in the job market and the effectiveness of government and non-government services in meeting the needs of the Negro working age population.

IV. DEVELOP GOVERNMENT FINANCED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS ON PUBLIC WORKS AND SERVICES TO GUARANTEE THE AVAILABILITY OF JOBS TO ABLE WORKERS WHO CANNOT BE PLACED IN, OR PROMPTLY TRAINED FOR, REGULAR EMPLOYMENT

WHY THE RECOMMENDATION IS NEEDED

Massive unemployment and underemployment in the Negro working age population requires the most urgent attention to prevent a worsening of social tensions, to eliminate the waste of human potential, and to lighten the heavy welfare burdens imposed on the community. We must not expect this problem to be eliminated automatically by the long-run competitive forces of the job market. Even in an economy approaching full employment, joblessness among Negroes will remain a persistent problem. The relatively low educational attainment and occupational skill levels of many Negro workers reduce their job opportunities in our increasingy complex and rapidly changing economy. Discriminatory employment practices also result in a persistent hard-core of joblessness in the Negro labor force.

Jobs must be provided without delay to solve the Negro unemployment crisis. And these jobs must be made available for Negroes at their existing level of skill attainment.

To meet this need, the Federal Government must assume responsibility for providing employment to workers who have been unable to find a productive place in the regular job market on their own. This employment must include the kinds of training and experience which are likely to increase the employability of the worker for regular jobs. The work experience, coupled with supportive services such as counseling, must be aimed at breaking the vicious cycle of poverty and dependence, and at upgrading the occupational structure of the Negro work force in line with current and expected future manpower requirements.

The tasks assigned to workers on a proposed government employment program, far from being "make work," are essential to fill the very real and pressing needs for public works and services that have accompanied population growth, urbanization, and increasing demands on the nation's physical resources. Workers employed on the proposed programs can make major contributions toward meeting the need for better housing, schools, hospitals, and parks in burgeoning urban communities. They can contribute to important conservation projects and to improvements in the appearance and safety of both towns and countryside. They can fill the large-scale shortage of subprofessional personnel in the fields of education, welfare, health, child care, and many other services.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

1. The Federal Government should develop and finance a program of guaranteed employment for able workers who cannot be placed in, or promptly trained for, regular employment. The work experience provided should help upgrade the worker's job skills and prepare him for regular employment.

To guide this program, an annual job budget should be developed in which short-run and long-run estimates of labor force, employment, and underemployment should be considered in relation to the whole range of the nation's economic and social resources and needs, in order to develop goals and priorities on the numbers and location of workers and projects to be served. This job budget should be tied closely to the Comprehensive Human Resource Program (See Recommendation III).

2. A large-scale Federally financed public works program to provide jobs through the private sector should be undertaken at once. Immediate targets should be the major urban centers where Negro unemployment is most severe and the Southern States where most of the rural farm and nonfarm Negro population live. In addition, long-range blue prints for public works and services should be developed for emergency use to prevent national or local manpower dislocations such as sharp dips in employment. Priority should be given to public works which produce the greatest manpower requirements for the industries, types of workers, and areas most in need of jobs.

3. The Federal Government, in cooperation with local and state governments, should undertake a large-scale program of employment in public services.

4. The President's Council of Economic Advisors should give leadership in developing these programs.

V. MOUNT COMPREHENSIVE YEAR-ROUND EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, AND COUNSELING PROGRAMS FOR NEGRO YOUTH

WHY THE RECOMMENDATION IS NEEDED

The shockingly high rate of unemployment among Negro youths—male and female—their unduly high rate of school drop-outs, and symptoms of social disorganization among some young residents of impoverished Negro ghettos are problems of paramount urgency. Most unemployed Negro teenagers and older youth lack the kind of work experience and work skills needed for successful adaptation to the job market. At the same time, jobs for unskilled young people are increasingly limited.

Because of their disadvantages in the job market, young Negroes need especially intensive vocational counseling to determine their best occupational prospects, and to plan the most effective educational and training programs tailored to their individual needs. Large numbers of them have yet to be convinced that employment opportunities are increasing and job restrictions are diminishing, particularly in skilled, technical, and white collar work. Those who have little reason to believe they will be successful in the job market need encouragement and counseling in seeking and applying for regular employment. Yet, programs to provide intensive counseling services for Negro youth are grossly inadequate.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

1. A year-round youth job placement program comparable to the special summer program formalized in 1965 should be developed. Jobs must be generated for male and female Negro teenagers which utilize their present skills while preparing them with new and better skills for occupational advancement. The Metropolitan Jobs Councils and Rural Jobs Councils should play important roles in coordinating this program at local levels. (See Recommendations I and II). The Comprehensive Human Resource Program provides a vehicle for estimating annual job needs and for planning the implementation of the youth program. (See Recommendation III).

2. Counseling services for in-school youths should be vastly improved and expanded, making available skilled vocational advisers who are acquainted with the requirements of industry. A target of at least one counselor for every 100 youths should be set for schools in poverty areas. Public employment offices should expand their vocational counseling services in the schools.

3. Community organizations should supplement the counseling services of government with emphasis on the needs of disadvantaged youth with especially severe em-

ployment and training problems.

4. The Vice President's Task Force on Youth Motivation should be greatly expanded and utilized by community organizations to reach and motivate Negro youth. This program can be implemented in high schools and colleges most effectively. Initiative may be taken by local clubs, churches, and parent-teacher associations. College students should form their own task forces to initiate and implement the program in local high schools.*

5. High school vocational education programs should be expanded and strengthened in both urban and rural areas to train youths effectively for occupations in which employment opportunities are available. School systems should work closely with industry and labor unions to gear the training realistically to job requirements.

6. The Neighborhood Youth Corps, which provides paid work experience for needy in-school youth and for jobless out-of-school youth, should be made more effective by legislative action to (a) provide additional funds, (b) increase the eligible age limits from 16–21 to 14–24, and (c) assist the preparation of NYC "graduates" for jobs by facilitating their movement into occupational training courses under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

7. The Job Corps program for both young men and women should be expanded and continuously improved in the light of program experience.

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*The intention of the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Motivation is to provide a means whereby the unconvinced Negro youth may be convinced of the changes in job opportunities by witnessing and counseling with Negroes who have "succeeded" in jobs and occupations previously closed to the Negroes. The program is in its second year and has already proved to be a success.

VI. AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS BY PRIVATE EMPLOYERS, LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, AND GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE MORE AND BETTER JOBS

WHY THE RECOMMENDATION IS NEEDED

Affirmative action by both private and government employers, labor organizations and community groups is essential and urgent to generate more and better jobs for Negroes, assure access to existing jobs by Negro men and women, and to eliminate discrimination in employment and occupational advancement.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination by employers, labor unions, and employment agencies; Executive Order 11246, which requires affirmative action to insure equal employment opportunity by government contractors; state and local fair employment practice laws; recent rulings by the National Labor Relations Board; and the Plans for Progress program are all contributing to the achievement of more and better jobs not by merely penalizing discriminatory activity, but through positive action leading to equality of opportunity.

Employers need to look, think, and act beyond simple nondiscrimination and *pro forma* or passive equal employment opportunity programs. Active and deliberate efforts to increase and improve jobs for Negroes are necessary. The Government itself needs to become a model employer in *every* respect and set the example for affirmative action. State and local governments should also become model employers. In addition, they should establish programs of contract compliance comparable to the Federal Government's Executive Order 11246.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION BY PRIVATE EMPLOYERS AND LABOR UNIONS

There is no single affirmative action plan which will apply to all companies in all situations. Overcoming past traditions of discrimination and insuring the acceptance of equal employment opportunity will require great initiative and creative thinking. Management must devote as much thought and effort to this as it does to other major functions of administration.

Among things that need to be done are:

1. Positive communication to Negroes that barriers of exclusion have been removed. This should be done through both regular and Negro-oriented media, civic meetings, mass meetings, radio and television.

2. Encouraging Negroes to apply for all levels of employment.

3. Review of all qualifications standards and tests to insure that Negroes are not victims of unconscious bias and that standards are fair and objective.

4. Re-evaluation of all Negro employees and progression opportunities to guarantee access to jobs commensurate with ability. In some cases collective bargaining agreements will have to be revised to overcome discriminatory placement practices maintained by transfer and seniority stipulations.

5. Job opportunities in the skilled crafts for Negroes should be increased without delay by (a) actively recruiting Negroes into craft unions and (b) helping Negro youths to qualify for apprenticeship programs by establishing pre-apprenticeship training and by revising selection criteria to eliminate unnecessary barriers.

6. Policy statements on equal employment opportunities should be followed-up with (a) specific directions involving all levels of supervision; (b) a precise system of feedback and reporting covering recruiting, hiring, training, and upgrading in each department, division and field office; and (c) personal involvement by top management when progress is slow.

7. Lower levels of supervision should be evaluated on the results of equal employment opportunity activities in the same way they are evaluated on other areas of supervisory ability.

8. Particular effort should be exerted to locate Negroes in responsible management and policy positions as a visible example of policy; e.g., as supervisors and personnel officers.

9. Private companies should utilize suppliers and contractors who follow nondiscrimination policies.

10. Management should increase the use of institutional and on-the-job training programs to help Negro workers find employment and advance to more skilled jobs. Effective use of Metropolitan Human Resource Action Programs, referred to under Recommendation I, will help to identify and channel Negroes into MDTA and other government institutional and on-the-job training programs.

11. Firms with well-established management and operating know-how can cooperate with Negro-owned and operated businesses to provide training for management and others employed in Negro firms.

12. Job opportunities for Negroes should be expanded through the franchise system. Every major firm should have Negro-owned franchises in all major cities as well as in small cities and towns.

13. Local business leaders should assist in forming and work with local Metropolitan Jobs Councils (See Recommendation I) and with other community organizations giving leadership to anti-discrimination and "fair and full employment" programs.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION BY LABOR UNIONS

Organized labor, especially at the national level, has made significant contributions to the furthering of equal job opportunities. However, there are many localities in which some labor organizations have failed to take affirmative action commensurate with the problems faced by Negro job seekers. It is recommended, therefore, that national, regional, and local unions *review and revise union regulations, programs, and practices* which have the effect of hampering the access of Negroes to jobs and job training.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION BY COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Churches, educational institutions, health and welfare groups, and associations can undertake affirmative action through technical assistance and through the example of their own practices. These institutions have already proved to be effective instruments to bring about change in employment patterns. However, much of the work is confined to the national level. We recommend that churches, educational institutions and health and welfare groups undertake programs to:

1. Provide technical assistance to persuade and help local institutions and affiliates to eliminate discriminatory patterns.

2. Utilize only suppliers and contractors who adhere to nondiscrimination policies. An example in this respect is "Project Equality," sponsored by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. (This project is described in Appendix A).

ACTION REQUIRED BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. Title VII (Prohibition of Discrimination by Employers, Unions, and Employment Agencies) of the *Civil Rights Act of 1964,* should be strengthened by amending it to:

   a. Expand coverage to employees of state and local governments, private membership clubs, educational institutions, and employers and unions with eight or more employees or members;

   b. Authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue "cease and desist" orders;

   c. Authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to order back pay to persons suffering financial loss through denial of equal employment opportunity.

2. Government contracting authority should be utilized to arrange and encourage new training opportunities in connection with government contracts.

3. Technical assistance and educational programs should be greatly expanded to help employers, labor unions, and others develop capabilities for providing equal employment opportunities and to reduce employment prejudice and discrimination.

4. Training of Federal, state, and local staffs, and present and potential staff members of local and national community organizations should be expanded to inform them of Federal requirements and to provide guidelines and methods for eliminating discrimination and implementing affirmative action programs.

5. An effective means for employers and labor unions to exchange information on their experience in attacking discriminatory practices should be provided.

VII. INITIATE AND REINFORCE SUPPORTIVE SERVICES TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT OF NEGROES INTO JOBS

WHY THE RECOMMENDATION IS NEEDED

Discrimination, high rates of unemployment and underemployment, relegation to low-skill jobs, and poverty have left their mark on the Negro labor force. A relatively high proportion of Negro workers lack the educational attainment and occupational skills needed to compete for many of the jobs in today's increasingly complex economy. This is especially true of white collar and technical jobs. The problem is made more severe by the migration of hundreds of thousands of Negroes from rural to urban areas, often without the kinds of vocational skills demanded for nonfarm work, and often lacking adequate knowledge of city life and services. Many of these people were persuaded to move to cities by employers and city officials during periods of labor shortage, such as World War II, and they have suffered substantial unemployment and underemployment in subsequent periods of reduced manpower requirements.

There is a crucial need to make available occupational training and related basic and remedial education to help prepare jobless Negroes for employment. There is also a need for training to upgrade employed Negroes who are working below their skill potentials. In many cases, existing training or educational programs are of inadequate size, inconveniently located, and not geared to the needs of disadvantaged groups. On-the-job training by employers has also been relatively limited for Negroes.

Formal training is not enough to assist Negroes at the lower end of the economic scale. A variety of supportive services to ease their adjustment to the demands of the job market is a necessity. They need supportive community services such as child care centers for working mothers and specialized help involving health, family, housing, and welfare problems which interfere with their success at seeking and holding jobs. Those who migrate from the countryside to the city often need help in adjusting to their new environment. Many disadvantaged people require counseling and related services to develop effective work, job seeking, and human relations attitudes and behavior patterns. It is very important, also, to facilitate access to jobs by Negroes, introducing new concepts of urban transportation for this purpose.

This set of recommendations covers training programs and supportive services to meet such urgent needs. It includes steps to strengthen government services, as well as to utilize the facilities and experience of nongovernmental organizations. Special attention is given to the public employment service, which should be a key agency in this field.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

1. There is a need to federalize the public employment service, which currently is operated by state agencies, although financed entirely by Federal funds. The reasons for this recommendation include:

   a. A national system to bring together jobs and job applicants without regard to local boundaries is needed to keep pace with today's complex job market. This system must be available to handle rapid shifts in manpower requirements, such as those caused by technological change and changes in defense needs. It is needed to give maximum mobility to the work force, to utilize unemployed workers in depressed areas, and to meet manpower shortages which are currently on the increase. A federalized employment service is in a position to effectively deal with the continuing large-scale movement of rural people to urban areas and other inter-regional migration patterns which have received little or no government services in the past. Furthermore, for an increasing number of occupations, such as engineering and other professional and technical jobs, the labor market is actually a national one.

   b. Federalization is needed to strengthen program standards, to eliminate discrimination in referral of applicants to jobs, and to raise the quality of services, such as intensive counseling, furnished to applicants.

   c. To an increasing extent, public employment service offices have been called upon to administer Federal manpower programs. As they assume functions such as the selection of enrollees for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, and the MDTA, the need for Federal coordination to insure high standards, nondiscrimination, and uniformity has increased.

   d. A Federal system would greatly improve employment service personnel standards. It would create a career ladder at an adequate and unified salary scale, promoting the interchange of staff members among local, state, and Federal levels. It would guard against discrimination in the selection of employment service staff members.

2. Access of Negro workers to all available jobs in the community must be improved. The location of most Negro workers in segregated ghettos sharply reduces not only their physical access to jobs in the community but often prevents them from knowing of the range of existing jobs. As is typical of most urban areas—North and South—investigations revealed that many workers in the Watts area had to travel for two hours, transfer to several bus lines, and pay a half-dollar each way to commute to jobs or to visit employment offices in search of a job. Relatively few can afford to own private cars. These transportation difficulties discourage job seekers and impose unfair costs on workers least able to meet them. Lack of child care services impedes the employment of women at a distance from their homes. The problem is aggravated by the growing trend of locating new business and

government establishments in distant suburban areas. It is recommended that:

a. The Federal Government should locate new Federal facilities in places readily accessible to residential areas where Negroes live.

b. In awarding government contracts, the Federal Government should require, to the maximum practicable extent, that the work be performed in establishments accessible to areas with substantial Negro unemployment problems.

c. Unless there are compelling business reasons to the contrary, new business establishments should be located by private employers in areas accessible to places where Negroes live, such as downtown areas, rather than in distant suburban or or other out-of-the-way sites.

d. Local and state governments should evaluate and modify local transportation routes, fares, and facilities to improve the access of Negroes to available jobs.

3. An individualized approach to disadvantaged workers should be adopted to meet the especially difficult employment and training needs of the hard-core unemployed. This should include establishment of the Human Resource Development Centers described under Recommendation I. Such Centers, located in major cities, should provide intensive and individualized assistance to workers with especially severe unemployment problems. The Center's services should include diagnosis of needs; intensive and prolonged counseling; referral to health, welfare, or other services; referral to training; specialized job placement assistance; and continuing contact with counselors to solve human relations and other problems which may interfere with performance on the job.

4. The effectiveness of programs for training unemployed and underemployed workers under the Manpower Development and Training Act should be increased by (a) liberalizing the recruitment, testing, and selection process to include more Negro trainees; (b) expanding remedial education, counseling, and other supportive services to improve the employability and training qualifications of disadvantaged workers; (c) increased participation by employers, labor unions, and local governments in establishing MDTA on-the-job training programs to help Negro workers qualify for employment and advancement; (d) liberalizing the weekly living allowances paid to trainees; and (e) "streamlining" administrative procedures.

VIII. STRENGTHEN INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS PROGRAMS

WHY THE RECOMMENDATION IS NEEDED

The strengthening of income maintenance and labor standards programs is of special importance for Negroes who are heavily concentrated in occupations and industries which pay low wages, provide only intermittent employment, and are excluded from protective labor standards legislation. For example, extension of minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and laws protecting the right to join labor unions so as to include agricultural and service workers not presently covered would greatly contribute to the economic security of large numbers of Negro workers. Such protection would help to raise incomes to adequate levels and would reduce the dependence of impoverished Negroes on public assistance. Improved labor standards and income safeguards would also help to provide the Negro work force with the security needed to motivate workers to develop their skills, actively seek employment, and make their maximum contribution in the job market.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

1. Federal minimum wage and child labor standards should be improved by:
    - a. Expanding coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to currently excluded industries and occupations in which minority groups are heavily concentrated, e.g., service and agricultural jobs;
    - b. Increasing the minimum wage;
    - c. Providing for adjustment programs to help workers possibly disemployed as a result of increases in the minimum wage to obtain gainful employment;
    - d. Prohibiting child labor outside of school hours on farms other than those operated by the child's own family.
2. The protection and benefits of collective bargaining should be extended to occupations and industries in which Negroes are concentrated by:
    - a. Extending the protection of the Labor-Management Relations Act to currently excluded workers and industries; e.g., agriculture;
    - b. Insuring, through state laws and programs, protection of collective bargining rights for workers excluded from the Labor-Management Relations Act;
    - c. Intensifying efforts to organize workers in service, agricultural, and other occupations in which Negroes are heavily concentrated.
3. The low-paid, low-status occupations in which large numbers of Negroes are employed, e.g., household service, should be upgraded by developing new job market practices to provide steady employment, economic security, and decent "fringe benefits."

IX. RESTRUCTURE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND RELATED WELFARE PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE CONSTRUCTIVE BENEFITS TO THE POOR

WHY THE RECOMMENDATION IS NEEDED

Welfare programs as they are presently operated fall far short of providing an adequate living to the poor. Even when the resources and facilities of the "War on Poverty" authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act are included, the nation's welfare programs fail to provide welfare recipients and other impoverished people with maximum *opportunity to move from dependency to self-sustaining employment.*

The annual income available to families under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program only averages about $1.15 per day per person for all of the costs of living. Aged and disabled recipients of public assistance have only between $900 and $1,000 a year and blind recipients have slightly over $1,100 a year.

In addition to low cash payments, the provision of services by public assistance agencies to help poor people overcome the barriers to self-sufficiency is also limited. The "War on Poverty" has introduced imaginative approaches aimed at eradicating basic causes of poverty, but these programs require further experience, testing, and expansion before they can achieve major breakthroughs in eliminating the large-scale, deep-rooted problems of the Negro urban and rural ghetto. Widespread shortages of trained staff members add to this problem.

Both Federal and state public assistance laws impose eligibility conditions that deny help to some needy people. The most important group excluded from coverage under Federal law are families with children in which the parent or parents are employed but whose earnings do not provide even a meager living. More than half of the children among the poor are thus excluded from eligibility for Federally aided public assistance. Also excluded are persons nearly but not yet 65 and young and middle-aged couples or individuals who are not blind or disabled and who have no minor children. Requirements for a specified length of residence and special requirements that exclude some families with children that are headed by women also result in many needy persons not receiving aid.

The limitations of existing programs bear particularly heavily on Negroes. More heads of households in the nonwhite than the white population work part-time or for only part of the year. Negro earnings are lower than whites. The proportion of nonwhite families headed by women is almost two and one-half times the corresponding proportion of white families. The risk of poverty among children in nonwhite families headed by employed women is about two and one-half times that of white children in such families. Finally, the Southern States have conspicuous difficulty in financing adequate assistance programs, even with a relatively high tax effort for public services. Since half of the total number of nonwhite poor people and only about one-third of all white poor people live in the South, this situation adversely affects Negro families.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

1. The Federal Government should establish national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the states, raising benefits to furnish a standard of living compatible with health and decency.

2. High priority in setting national standards should be given to eliminating the separate categories of public assistance and substituting a single category based exclusively on need, to insure the availability of public assistance to all impoverished people.

3. Legislation should be enacted to permit operation of public welfare programs by the Federal Government in states which cannot or will not meet Federal standards.

4. Under existing programs, the Aid to Families with Dependent Children should be strengthened to grant assistance to otherwise eligible families in cases where there is an employable male present in the household, provided that he is making reasonable efforts to secure or train for a job.

5. Residence requirements for public assistance should be reduced or eliminated or the states should be reimbursed for payments to nonresidents.

6. Public assistance recipients should be given every opportunity and encouraged to seek and take jobs and training. The amount of earnings or training allowances which can be retained by public assistance recipients without impairing their benefits should be substantially increased.

Teenagers should be permitted to keep a substantial proportion of their earnings from jobs or their MDTA or NYC training allowances when assessing the welfare needs of recipient families.

7. Standards and additional resources should be provided for state and local governments and community organizations to make available supplemental non-monetary services to needy people, to strike at the basic causes of poverty. These services should include: consumer education, legal assistance, vocational and personal counseling, health information, home management services, free family planning services, day care centers for working mothers, and expanded school lunch programs. Services provided by public assistance agencies should be closely coordinated with those available under "War on Poverty" programs, to avoid duplication and achieve maximum coverage and impact.

8. The acute staffing problem of public assistance agencies must be relieved by such measures as (a) developing and providing resources for a greatly expanded program of recruitment and training of professiona case workers (There should be a sharp reduction of the number of clients served by each case worker.); (b) development o large-scale programs to train subprofessional aides to reduce the burden on the professional staff by handling routine tasks serving as "expediters" to locate and inform poor people about available programs, and following-up the progress of public assistance recipients in utilizing available services and self-improvement programs.

9. Federal agencies administering programs of Federal assistance that depend

upon development, proposal, and operation of projects by local agencies (e.g., the Community Action Program of the Economic Opportunity Act and economic development programs under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965) should review administrative controls and intensify technical assistance activities to insure that their benefits reach even the least sophisticated and poorest rural and urban communities.

10. The resources of "War on Poverty" programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act should be expanded and creative new programs should continue to be developed and tested. Prompt attention should be given to strengthening the administrative procedures of these programs. This should include careful program controls, expanded technical assistance and supervision for local projects by the Office of Economic Opportunity and other administering agencies, and longer-range planning to maximize program effectiveness.

11. There should be explicit acceptance of the government's responsibility for guaranteeing a minimum income to all Americans. This involves (a) making available "last-resort employment" to those willing and able to work but who cannot find jobs, and (b) utilizing an improved public assistance system to provide income to needy persons who are unable to seek employment because of age, physical or mental disability, family responsibilities or other reasons; and who are not adequately protected by social insurance programs.

DESCRIPTION OF "PROJECT EQUALITY"

"Project Equality" is a national program in which participating religious institutions (Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, and Protestant denominations) use their hiring and purchasing power to promote affirmative action for equal employment opportunity. The program is similar to Government action under Executive Order 11246. Employment practices within the institutions, their schools and hospitals, as well as that of suppliers and contractors are covered.

The principal elements are:

1. Each participating religious institution agrees to adopt and implement nondiscriminatory and affirmative action programs to insure that applicants are hired and that employees are placed, trained, promoted and otherwise treated during employment without regard to race.

2. Each employer who wishes to become eligible for contracts or purchase orders forwards to the Project Equality staff in his location a standard "employment analysis" form containing three kinds of information:

   a. A breakdown of work force by race and job category.
   b. A list of affirmative actions taken to eliminate discrimination and insure equal employment opportunity.
   c. A statement as to the problems encountered in recruiting minority persons for employment.

3. The contract staff within the Project Equality area compiles a list of eligible firms.

4. Project Equality members within the area pledge to do business only with eligible firms on the list.

5. On the basis of work force and problem information contained in the completed

"employment analysis" reports, Project Equality staff members conduct compliance reviews of firms on the eligibile list to insure that nondiscriminatory and affirmative actions are being implemented and are achieving successful results.

The program began in May 1965, and now operates in several major cities (Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Hartford, San Antonio). Total purchasing power committed to the program is well over a half billion dollars annually. The goal is to establish programs by 1967 in each major city in which there are significant numbers of nonwhites.

Another organization exploring this type of program is the National Board of the YWCA. Others could include:

1. Educational institutions
2. Hospitals
3. Mass media industries
4. The advertising industry
5. Civic organizations
6. Financial institutions

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE—

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

The conferees expressed urgency and impatience as they called for rapid progress in breaking down discrimination in employment, upgrading job skills and occupational achievement, and attaining a decent and secure living for Negro Americans.

Although they gave considerable attention to definition of overall goals and the Negro's complex economic security and welfare needs, the primary emphasis of the conferees was on *action.* This viewpoint was well reflected in the remarks of one speaker:

"These are the things, it seems to me, which simply mean that the implementation of the principle is just as important as the expression of the principle itself, and, in fact, more important. Otherwise, you raise the hopes and then you dash them."

There was general agreement that the *"help," "pressure,"* and *"leadership"* of the Federal Government are essential. This reflected both recognition of the superior strength and resources of the Federal Government, and a distrust of the willingness of some state and local governments, particularly in the South, to undertake needed programs. However, the conferees also expressed agreement with Council recommendations designed to mobilize all resources of the community. Major proposals involved action by business, labor unions, church groups, and non-profit community welfare organizations, as well as state and local governments. In short, while underscoring the need for new and improved Federal action, the conferees also recognized the responsibility of other sectors of the society for improving the Negro's economic status.

The conferees were not content merely with general statements of what should be done. A number expressed the view that there should be more specific recommendations for priorities, timetables, funding, and targets. Several speakers urged that specific estimates of the cost of proposed programs be included, and that an overall "*price tag*" be placed on the economic security and welfare recommendations.

"First—where does the money come from? . . . I am increasingly disturbed that the Council's recommendations do not have any price tags attached. I think that we cannot discuss these realistically unless we talk about money."

The range of opinion varied from endorsements of the Council's proposals by such phrases as *"very useful," "candid," "in general accord," "in full agreement," "courageous"* to allegations of lack of realism and excessive vagueness.

Several participants observed that the Council's proposals gave insufficient attention to Negro women and teenage girls, in view of the large proportion of the Negro labor force they comprise. Although the Council recommendations usually apply equally to both male and female workers, it was felt that more treatment of the specific problems of women would be helpful.

The discussions related the problems of Negroes to the conditions of other disadvantaged groups and to the general level of national economic activity. Several participants stressed that a full employment economy is an essential condition of programs to help the Negro. Some felt that the Conference should have covered problems of disadvantaged groups generally, rather than those of Negroes alone.

Leadership participation and self-help by the poor were mentioned by some conferees as a counterweight to the more technical and organizational approach of the Council's recommendations.

A detailed summary of the sense of the Conference is presented in the following pages. For convenience, the summaries are grouped under the same nine major headings utilized by the Council, in presenting its recommendations on economic security and welfare.

I. ESTABLISH METROPOLITAN JOBS COUNCILS IN ALL MAJOR URBAN AREAS TO PLAN, COORDINATE, AND IMPLEMENT LOCAL PROGRAMS TO INCREASE JOBS

The rationale of the proposed Metropolitan Jobs Councils was generally accepted. Mobilization of community leadership in planning and implementing such local programs was recognized as of substantial importance. The mood of many conferees was reflected in the following statement on this point:

"This Conference will have missed the boat unless it legitimizes the principle that the whole community—the local community, has the capacity to do their own planning and should be encouraged to do this with the available resources of Federal and private resources."

The role of private employers on Metropolitan Jobs Councils was described by a business executive:

". . . we ought to change systematic exclusion (of Negroes) to systematic inclusion, which means that we have got to go a step beyond merely the elimination of discrimination to take affirmative actions that have been suggested in order to guarantee that Negroes do come into the job market on the basis of equality."

Several speakers noted that results are being achieved by existing councils of a similar nature, such as the Milwaukee Council and the Opportunity Industrialization Center in Philadelphia.

Some spokesmen felt that the recommendation for Metropolitan Jobs Councils needed clarification. They saw a danger that action would become bogged down in bureaucratic red tape or that the proposed councils would be dominated by persons who do not favor strong equal opportunities action—particularly in the South. The councils, it was cautioned, should avoid overlap with existing organizations and programs, such as those sponsored by the Urban League. A number of safeguards were proposed. They included the provision of guidelines and coordination by the Federal Government, more specific recommendations on the composition and selection of the councils to ensure that their leadership is responsive to the needs of the Negro community, participation by Negroes and by poor people in council decisions, involvement of churches and other nonprofit community groups, and where possible, the use of existing organizations rather than creation of new ones to achieve the stated objectives. Greater emphasis on counseling of workers in council programs and on helping cooperating employers overcome problems which sometimes accompany anti-discrimination efforts was also suggested.

II. CREATE A RURAL JOBS TASK FORCE TO DEVELOP AND COORDINATE A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR RURAL NEGROES

Conferees highlighted the problems of small farm operators, particularly sharecroppers on large tobacco and cotton plantations who are being displaced by changing technology and by shifts of land to other uses. A number of speakers indicated that Federal acreage and production stabilization programs have contributed to displacement of sharecroppers and other small farmers, while the benefits of such programs have accrued to farm landlords and to large agricultural units.

The plight of Negro hired farm workers was also emphasized. The situation of the migratory farm laborer was described by one participant as follows:

"I think so often when we talk about Negroes in the rural problem, we somehow figure it is all in the South. I want to call your attention to one aspect that is not in here, to develop this completely and thoroughly as it ought to be for the benefit of many Negroes and other minority groups engaged in agricultural labor on the lowest level; the migratory laborer. I think it is very much inadequate indeed.

"This is just as true in New Jersey, New York, Michigan and all the very urbanized states, as it is indeed in the deep South. If we are going to give some attention to the Negro who is most economically deprived, we cannot indeed forget the agricultural migratory laborer all over these United States who follows the crops, and from whom all of us benefit in terms of the kind of well-balanced diets we are able to consume."

The Council's recommendation dealing with ways to ease the economic and social adjustment of rural Negroes migrating to the city, caused uneasiness among some conferees. Although there was agreement on the need for the proposed services to assist migrants in the transition from rural to urban life, several speakers thought that this proposal could be interpreted as implicit approval of the exportation of Southern Negroes to the city, the effort to retain the status quo by eliminating Negroes from their home areas, and a side-stepping of equal treatment among Southern farm people. The conferees favored amending this recommendation to put greater emphasis on the creation of new job opportunities in rural areas and provision of more financial assistance for small farmers.

Conferees expressed strong specific support for these Council recommendations:

1. Technical and financial assistance to farmers for the formation of cooperatives to strengthen their economic position;
2. Increased availability of loans to small farmers on a long-term, low-cost basis;
3. Revisions of agricultural price support and production stabilization programs to reach small farmers, including sharecroppers;
4. Improved occupational training programs to meet the needs of the rural poor;
5. Stronger programs to help migratory farm workers.

III. DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE HUMAN RESOURCE PROGRAM TO SET GOALS, TO MEASURE PROGRESS, AND TO STRUCTURE THE ACTION UNDERTAKEN "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

Although this recommendation did not receive intensive discussion, the conferees gave general approval to the development of a Comprehensive Human Resource Program to provide a framework for sound planning, policy and program development, and effective action. Statements of support included references to the need for definite priorities, timetables, targets, and estimates of costs and program resources.

The conferees generally favored the need for improvement of manpower information to assess the progress of Negro workers in improving their economic status and to identify the need for new action programs. But there was general agreement that the collection and analysis of information must not take the place of immediate action. As one conferee expressed it:

"We need no longer research. We've been researching for 100 years. We need work, not research."

IV. DEVELOP GOVERNMENT FINANCED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS ON PUBLIC WORKS AND SERVICES TO GUARANTEE THE AVAILABILITY OF JOBS TO ABLE WORKERS WHO CANNOT BE PLACED IN, OR PROMPTLY TRAINED FOR, REGULAR EMPLOYMENT

This recommendation, involving a guarantee by the Federal Government of the availability of jobs for able workers who cannot otherwise be promptly placed in or trained for employment, received enthusiastic support. Many speakers stressed the need to provide without delay jobs to absorb the excessive number of unemployed Negro workers. Particular stress was given to the need for job creation in chronically depressed rural and urban areas.

Conferees concurred with the Council's report that the public works and services to be provided through the proposed employment programs were urgently needed to fill serious gaps in the nation's health, welfare, educational, housing, and other essential facilities. It was felt that the jobless could be usefully employed in rebuilding dilapidated urban ghettos, beautifying city and country areas, and to provide schools, hospitals, and other public buildings. Expansion of public services in the areas of health, education and welfare was also emphasized, particularly since employment in the essential service areas can be provided without the long delays that are sometimes required for planning and initiating public works.

In discussing the implementation of the guaranteed employment recommendation, participants viewed favorably the several types of approaches proposed by the Council. These included direct employment on public works or services by Federal, state, and local governments; government-financed public work programs conducted through private construction companies; and public services provided through nonprofit welfare organizations.

Federal loans and grants for job-creating projects in depressed areas came in for special mention. A high government official received a favorable response to his agency's plans to require that companies or communities receiving such Federal assistance give first preference in employment and training to the long-term unemployed, and that they be required to institute positive recruitment and upgrading programs for disadvantaged groups.

The need for a coordinated approach to economic development was underscored in the following comment:

". . . it must have the vision, I am afraid, for more than ten years, or perhaps another two generations. It must attract people to areas of work. There must be built-in provision for housing, transportation, movement from one part of the country to another, preparation for the types of living in different parts of the country, and perhaps high mobility in the many public works programs . . ."

Concern was expressed that Negroes be actively recruited and employed in Federally supported public works programs. One conferee said:

"I drive for hundreds and hundreds of miles and see highway construction and no Negroes in sight. Now this disturbs me no end, because these are projects that are directly controlled by the Federal Government. I, therefore, recommend to this Conference that a thorough investigation be conducted on these public works programs and, in areas where there are no Negroes employed, that some direct action be taken."

V. MOUNT COMPREHENSIVE YEAR-ROUND EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, AND COUNSELING PROGRAMS FOR NEGRO YOUTH

Broad consensus was reached on the Council's recommendation for a concentrated effort to reduce the dangerously high rate of joblessness among Negro youth—both male and female—and to bring them into the mainstream of the nation's economic life. The conferees stressed the urgent need to improve training and counseling programs, to provide opportunities for employment and earnings, and to reduce the social tensions and symptoms of disorganization evidenced in such areas as Watts.

Emphasis was placed on expanding vocational training facilities in both rural and urban areas, gearing the training realistically to the requirements of employers and to those growing occupational fields presenting the best job opportunities for Negro youth.

Many conferees endorsed the recommendations for improving counseling and guidance programs and stepping up the training of professionals in this area. Some were of the opinion that in addition to a concentrated guidance effort in high schools, some useful counseling services could be provided at the elementary school level. One speaker noted that today's changing job structure makes it essential that the Department of Labor provide continuously updated information on job opportunities.

A number of speakers supported the Council's emphasis on the need to broaden the content of vocational training programs to take into account the social and personal barriers to employment that are often associated with minority group status. The need to motivate youths to develop and utilize their potential occupational skills was stressed. More attention to the "drop out" problem was suggested, including centers to help youths overcome psychological problems hindering work adjustments.

VI. AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS BY PRIVATE EMPLOYERS, LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, AND GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE MORE AND BETTER JOBS

There was general accord with the Council's recommendations for positive efforts by employers to recruit, train, and upgrade Negro workers. The voluntary "Plans for Progress" program, for example, was commended. One speaker indicated that the 300 companies participating in this program had made available over 125,000 permanent jobs for nonwhites since 1962, had engaged in positive recruitment in predominantly Negro colleges, had established special counseling programs, and had provided scholarships for Negro students.

Council recommendations for action by employers that received special support from conferees included the elimination of excessively rigid hiring specifications, a more flexible use of aptitude and ability tests, positive recruitment efforts, expansion of on-the-job training programs, special efforts to ensure equal promotion opportunities, and the employment of more Negroes in personnel offices and supervisory jobs.

The Council's recommendations on labor unions were less favorably received. A definite and recurring view was expressed that the Council's report did not go far enough in spotlighting discriminatory practices of labor unions. A substantial number of participants gave examples of such discrimination in their areas. While noting the efforts of some unions to combat discrimination, the general feeling was that strong action was needed to convince local labor organizations to provide equal employment and membership opportunities.

Specific criticism focused on craft unions—particularly in the building trades. As a conferee put it:

> *"Now in our State these unions practice total exclusion of Negroes. We have no Negro bricklayers, no Negro plumbers, no Negro sheet metal workers, no Negro iron fitters—you can go right down the list."*

Local unions of railroad employees in the South were also specifically mentioned.

There was pointed criticism of discrimination in apprenticeship programs. The Council's recommendation that the entrance requirements, standards, and content of these programs be closely reviewed received strong endorsement among the conferees. Affirmative action was strongly recommended in this area—publicity on openings for apprentices, positive recruitment of Negroes for apprenticeship programs, pre-apprenticeship training programs, and reduction of entrance requirements. One or two speakers urged a complete reconsideration of the apprenticeship system, leading to the possible substitution of other types of skill training for craft workers.

To eliminate discriminatory practices by unions, the conferees agreed with Council's recommendations for stronger enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the enactment and strengthening of state and local equal opportunity laws. Speakers urged the AFL–CIO to strengthen its antidiscrimination rules and to bring pressure to bear on its member unions.

Heavy emphasis was placed on proposals to encourage Negroes to become businessmen. There was general agreement with Council's recommendations for Federal loan and training programs in this area. Incentives for Negro building contractors were urged as one means of opening up more job opportunities for minority workers in the building trades.

The conferees concurred in the Council's statement that *"The Government itself needs to become a model employer in every respect . . ."* and placed heavy stress on Federal Government action. At the same time the conferees agreed with the Council's recommendations for action by private employers, unions, and by state and local government. They supported legislation and administrative action to strengthen existing equal opportunity laws and regulations. Strong emphasis was placed on tightening enforcement of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination by employers, labor unions, and employment agencies; Title VI of the Act, which prohibits discrimination in Federally financed or assisted programs; and Executive Order 11246, which requires government contractors to provide equal employment opportunities.

In addition, a number of speakers called for an end to discrimination in the Federal Government's own installations. A number of illustrations of such discrimination, particularly in the South, were cited.

Several individuals voiced support for special approaches. For example, one favored Federal tax incentives to encourage employers to train Negroes. Another urged Federal financial support for state equal opportunity agencies.

VII. INITIATE AND REINFORCE SUPPORTIVE SERVICES TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT OF NEGROES INTO JOBS

This proposal received generous approval by the conferees. The expressed feeling was that gains in breaking down discriminatory barriers in employment opportunities will not in themselves be sufficient to achieve the complete adjustment of Negroes to the demands of the job market. Training, remedial education, counseling, improved access to jobs and to information about job openings, and many other services are needed to help the Negro avail himself of new opportunities.

There was significant support for the Council's proposal to federalize the Employment Service. Conferees expressed the view that federalization would provide a more potent weapon in dealing with discrimination against Negroes in local employment offices, facilitate the movement of workers to areas where particular skills are in demand, and improve employment service personnel standards. Several individuals mentioned discrimination by employment service agencies in referring workers to jobs and in referring applicants to training courses. Federal funds for nongovernment employment centers were mentioned as a possible supplement for state agency services in some areas.

Expansion of programs of occupational training for both youths and adults, under the auspices of both government and private employers, received unanimous backing. Such efforts should aim not only to qualify jobless workers for employment, but also to help upgrade low-skill employed workers into skilled and technical jobs. Particular emphasis was given to on-the-job training as an effective means of teaching skills and securing employment for disadvantaged workers.

Concern was expressed that existing Federally-financed occupational training programs were not reaching some communities because of administrative difficulties or discrimination by local authorities. Conferees suggested that special assistance be given communities encountering difficulty in obtaining manpower training programs through regular channels. A need was expressed for better coordination of Federal programs at the local level. One proposal involved the establishment in problem areas of interdepartmental task forces with responsibility for providing all necessary assistance in setting up Federally-financed training programs.

The Council's recommendation of more adequate transportation services was considered by numerous conferees as vitally linked to employment. Encouragement of business to locate in areas accessible to Negro workers was also urged. It was noted that financial aid to small business would permit, in many instances, continued operation of enterprises in such areas. For job opportunities dependent upon worker relocation, a proposal was made for expansion of Federal relocation allowance programs.

Expansion of day care centers subsidized by government funds was generally stressed. This would enable unemployed mothers to seek employment and free working mothers from the problem of finding suitable babysitting services, often at a cost that cuts into already meager incomes.

Other proposed programs of supportive services receiving specific support were efforts to open avenues of work for the Negro in the professional, clerical, sales, and technical occupations; health services to improve job performance; adequate counseling, both in-school and in-home; and expansion of rehabilitative efforts for persons with criminal records.

VIII. STRENGTHEN INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS PROGRAMS

Participants in the Conference showed substantial interest in rectifying inequities and improving the effectiveness and coverage of existing labor standards legislation.

The Council's recommendations on improving the Fair Labor Standards Act received general approval. There was also support for raising the minimum wage beyond the limits of the bill now pending before Congress. A target figure of $2.00 per hour was mentioned by some speakers. Also urged was expansion of Federal Labor Standards Act coverage to service, agricultural, and other low-wage occupations in which many Negro workers are concentrated. One speaker suggested that Congress enact a formula for automatic increases in the minimum wage.

Strengthening legislation to expand collective bargaining opportunities and rights received major support. The point was emphasized that this is a vehicle by which Negroes may gain both direct wage increases and greater opportunities for occupational advancement.

The household service occupation was singled out as a special area where improvements in wages and standards would result in considerable betterment of Negro women workers. Several conferees supported recommendations for upgrading the status of household service as a career.

Recommended improvements in the workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance programs were endorsed. Suggestions were made to provide all workers protection under unemployment insurance laws.

IX. RESTRUCTURE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND RELATED WELFARE PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE CONSTRUCTIVE BENEFITS TO THE POOR

There was general agreement that significant improvements in this area are required. Most of the proposals of the Council directed at employment opportunities would not raise the living standards of those unable actively to seek work because of full-time responsibilities in rearing children, old age, physical or mental disability, or other reasons. The conferees felt that this segment of citizens would be deprived of their share of the American heritage unless bold and creative measures were taken to change existing welfare and assistance programs.

Proposals to improve the Federal-State public assistance programs won near-unanimous support. Many speakers advocated the establishment of stronger Federal standards to eradicate the gap between Federal intent and actual service in public assistance programs, including elimination of discrimination in the treatment of welfare clients. The proposal for Federal operation of welfare programs in states not complying with Federal standards was also generally accepted.

The conferees looked upon the proposal to eliminate the variety of eligibility requirements, and to substitute the single category of "need" as the criterion for assistance, as a significant step forward in humanizing the treatment of welfare recipients. The dignity of the person on welfare was of immediate concern to the conferees and numerous mentions were made of excessively bureaucratic treatment at the hands of administrators of local welfare programs. Many delegates urged improvements in the Aid to Dependent Children program in two specific areas: an immediate cessation of "midnight raids," regarded as serious invasions of privacy by welfare investigators, and availability of welfare payments in specified types of cases where an employable but jobless male is present in the household.

Strong support was voiced for eliminating residence requirements for public assistance applicants. The alternative of reducing such requirements was considered unrealistic in light of the significance attached throughout the Council's report to a high degree of worker mobility.

Wide recognition was given to the need for training social workers and other welfare personnel in more efficient methods and proper attitudes. Higher salaries were considered an essential part of the upgrading of personnel standards in this field. More Negroes should be included on personnel staffs, according to some speakers, both as professionals and as subprofessional aides.

Approval was also registered for expanding non-monetary services for public assistance recipients; e.g., family planning services; day care centers for children of working mothers; a sound program of publicity to acquaint prospective welfare recipients with their rights; and an extensive program of consumer education in budgeting techniques, purchasing skills, and lend-

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ing practices. One conferee urged the inclusion of life insurance for relief recipients.

The concept of a guaranteed annual income was singled out by numerous conferees as a means to achieve a real breakthrough in the vicious cycle of hard-core poverty. The Council's recommendations would guarantee income through an appropriate combination of job opportunities, social insurance, and public assistance. Several conferees expressed interest in other approaches to provide an income floor.

The Food Stamp Program was subjected to some criticism. Several speakers felt that it is administered discriminatorily in some Southern areas, or that restrictive requirements are imposed. There were calls for Federal investigation and administration of the program in local areas.

A number of conferees urged that the Council report be supplemented by a recommendation on consumer credit. This would involve enactment of local and Federal legislation to regulate interest rates and to expand reliable sources of consumer credit for ghetto residents.

"War on Poverty" programs providing welfare-related services under the Economic Opportunity Act received much comment. In general, such programs were viewed as catalysts for introducing creative new approaches in the welfare field. As in the Council report, stress was placed on the need to improve the administration of the programs in some localities, and to take steps to expedite their availability to local areas. It was suggested by one conferee that the consent of state and local government officials be dispensed with in Federally-financed anti-poverty projects to be operated by nongovernment organizations.

EDUCATION—

COUNCIL'S REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of our schools is nothing less than the preparation of children to be independent persons in an open society. That goal will not be attained until every child has equal opportunity for acquisition of basic skills, saleable skills, and civic and social skills. American schools today are failing significantly to fulfill this promise. Our schools have become stratified in quality and divided in objectives; and they threaten to produce a society stratified by class and race. It is incontestable that we have different qualities of education and therefore provide widely varying levels of opportunities through schooling for the Negro child and the white child, the suburban child, the city child, the inner city child, and the rural child.

Some of the shortcomings are rooted in the educational process itself. Other sources of inequality stem uniquely from racial considerations. Three basic facts highlight the failure to provide equality of educational opportunity. The *first* is that today the overwhelming majority of American school children, *more than 90 per cent,* are educated in racially segregated schools. The *second* is that segregated Negro schools, by all available criteria, are almost without exception inferior in quality to white schools. The *third* is that *segregated schools, both white and Negro, provide inferior education by definition,* for they fail to prepare their pupils for life in our pluralistic society and ever-shrinking world.

Despite the breaching in the courts of *de jure* barriers to desegregated education, despite beginnings toward eliminating the dual system in the South, segregated education is still the general condition. The bright hope that the desegregation process would be speeded by threatened termination of Federal school aid is as yet largely unrealized. Moreover, the Federal courts, the Congress, and the Executive have made almost no affirmative contribution to solving problems of *de facto* segregation, which continues as the prevailing pattern in the North and West, and, if anything, has become more rather than less rigid. A few states and some cities must be credited entirely with what limited progress has been made to date.

On the whole, state governments have defaulted in their obligation to achieve adequate and equal educational opportunity for all. They have refused to reapportion their legislatures adequately to represent urban populations, and the traditional and outmoded attitudes of rural-dominated legislatures have even resulted in inadequate provision for the rural people themselves. States have not taken initiative to improve local education, and by restricting legal authority and sources of revenue have prevented municipalities which desire to do so from dealing with their educational problems. They have failed to allocate adequate resources to state departments of education; they have failed to redefine school districts as rapid population and social changes have created new needs; they have failed to revise the structure and functions of local boards of education to meet current requirements.

Moreover, the states have failed to take action in other areas which vitally affect the ability of the schools to perform their functions. They have been callous in their response not only to the educational needs of the Negro, but even in the protection of their basic civil rights. They have lagged in efforts to bring about open occupancy in housing, often failed to legislate or implement fair employment practices, and in many cases failed to provide legal and actual opportunity for Negro citizens to exercise their right of franchise.

Deterioration of inner-city and rural education can no longer be allowed; the dangers to American society are too great. States have for too long neglected this growing danger, and the problem is now so massive and so complicated that all the local and national resources of America must be brought to bear on its solution.

Basic responsibility for education remains in the hands of state and local authorities; yet every child in this country, as an American citizen, is entitled to equal educational opportunity in order to assume the obligations as well as the rights of American citizenship. The problems which confront education today are of grave national concern, and therefore the Federal Government must necessarily participate with state and local governments in assuring equal opportunity for quality education for every child in the land.

The last three years have seen important new legislation by Congress, breaking ground in almost all of the vital areas. The Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the Higher Education Act of 1965 have all reflected increasing national concern. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in particular is bringing new dollars and new ideas to the children of poverty and neglect, and bringing new awareness among educators that poverty is in part a result of educational failure.

In addition, the reorganization of the Office of Education under former Commissioner Keppel to administer these new programs, discuss national standards, and experiment with innovative ideas has provided a focus for creative Federal leadership. Fear of Federal interference, which for so long prevented affirmative national action, is yielding to an effective partnership based on increasing state and local capacity for leadership.

On this base we now need to build a heightened public consciousness of the magnitude of the job, an acknowledgment of the necessity for further Federal funds and programs, and increased state and local efforts to provide a decent education for all.

There will, of course, be public resistance to the means required to equalize educational opportunity. Profound hostility still prevents complete national commitment to desegregated opportunity, and public ignorance or indifference on many issues is still to be overcome.

But public opinion is increasingly aware of our educational failures, and increasingly calling on school systems to remedy inequities. In the words of U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe,

> *"American education must catch up with American life and American law. The citizens of this Nation demand that it do so, and they look to teachers and principals and superintendents to lead the way . . . The educator must speak out and he must act. He must help parents understand that all-white and all-Negro schools harm both races. He must exercise his responsibilities for leadership, forthrightly challenging those who would deny the constitutional requirement of equal educational opportunity for all."*

We must all recognize the problem and commit ourselves to the expense of solving it. The costs of unemployment, welfare and relief, delinquency and crime, high morbidity and mortality—human as well as financial costs—are among the penalties of failure to make adequate investments in education. We cannot afford not to equalize and upgrade education.

All of the remedies suggested in this Report depend on a more aroused public commitment.

Corrective campaigns must be launched at every level to educate and involve the public in meeting our urgent needs. Mass media of communication must be mobilized in campaigns to replace distorted and outmoded stereotypes of minority groups, and to enlarge public understanding of our educational failures.

The President should issue a strong call for more sincere and overt leadership on the part of governors, state and local officials, professional educators and citizens generally on behalf of a national policy of "equality as a fact and equality as a result."

We should set forth a national policy directed to achieving three major goals:

1. The massive task of reforming our educational system needs first to deal with *equalizing* allocation of financial and human resources, so that our schools provide for all children what is now provided for the fortunate few.

2. Concentrations of population on the basis of race are detrimental not only to education but to society. Not unless school districts, along with other institutions of American society, reflect open opportunity and *integration* can we remain a leader of the world's free nations nor a symbol of the type of democratic society we profess to be.

3. The task of equalizing opportunity will not be complete until we recognize the central and complex issue of educational

quality and design education which truly enables persons of all ages to become independent individuals.

The recommendations that follow are designed to achieve these goals:

I. EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENT

The educational opportunity provided for children in America today is grossly unequal. Too many children are locked into inferior school systems by poverty and prejudice; they have no choice but a bad one, and the number of them that reject it should not surprise us. Our efforts are too often concentrated on adjusting the child to the system, and too little geared to providing a school system that will have meaning for the child.

Our rural schools are of uneconomic size and have too few local resources to develop imaginative teaching or adequate plant and equipment. Our central cities steadily lose to the suburbs those who gain education and wealth, so that both financial and policy support for city schools is left to those least able to provide it.

The widening gap between inner city and rural schools on the one hand, and the affluent schools of suburbia on the other, as well as the inequity of geographic distribution of wealth, are reflected in the disparities of per pupil expenditure, which range from $265 in rural Georgia to $435 in Atlanta, from $318 in Mississippi to $869 in New York State, from $447 in Cleveland to $623 in Cleveland Heights, or to $1,211in Scarsdale.

The scale of the problem should not be underestimated. At the present time the nation spends some $27 billion in elementary and secondary schools, public and private, including church-related schools. To equalize opportunity, to give every child access to the best education some areas now provide will require something like a doubling of this present investment.

The present average of public expenditure per pupil is $533. A reasonable goal would be $1,000 per child. This is not an unrealistic figure, for although it is nearly twice the national average it is still well below what many districts think necessary. And failure to provide schools for our neediest children which are at the very least equal to those that now serve the least needy will take a far greater economic and social toll. Equalizing educational investment calls for a combined commitment on national, state, and local levels.

State and local governments, if they are to preserve the control and development of education in their own hands, must take a new approach to revenue needs. States must commit themselves to a public policy of equalization, educate their citizens on revenue needs, and devise formulas in allocation of financial and human resources that will remedy past inequities.

The time has come for states to ease restrictions on local authority and revenue sources, and to give city school districts the access to revenue which is so often denied them. States must devise equalization formulas that distribute resources to the children who need them most. They must revitalize State Departments of Education to this end, redraw school district boundaries to this end, and redefine state and local board obligations to this end.

Individual local school districts must also take the initiative in achieving equality of educational opportunity. Funds should be allocated within school districts so as to provide the range, variety, quality, and allocation of learning resources through the various schools to reflect the unique needs of each school population.

But even given such state and local commitment—and some states such as New York have made promising beginnings which other states can profitably study—the immense job of equalizing expenditures for all children will require further investment.

The state disparities are so great, and often their capacity to correct inadequate investment so small, that only Federal aid can make a difference. Mississippi, for example, ranks 50th among the states in per pupil expenditure, but 12th in school investment as a percent of the personal income of its citizens, well over the national average. And although Mississippi collects only $153 a year in state and local taxes per capita, nearly the lowest state figure in the country, this represents 10.7 percent of per capita personal income, well over the national average of 9.7 percent.

By national standards the investment of Mississippi citizens in education is already high. Yet it would take over $125 million to raise the investment per child in Mississippi simply to the national average of $533. And were Mississippi to aspire to the $1,000 expenditure which would provide something like quality education for its children, the annual investment would have to be increased over $400 million.

Current Federal legislation is attempting to remedy these inequities and has made welcome beginnings. Yet this year's allotment to Mississippi's "educationally deprived" children was $32 million, a fraction of the need.

The Federal Government should increase the allocations under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act beyond the newly projected authorization, and amend the legislation to link such grants to the "workable program" requirement described below and to state equalization formulas. At the same time, the experience gained during this past year should be examined to be sure that increases are truly spent to further both better and more racially integrated education for all children, and to devise formulas which will give added incentives to those districts that make affirmative plans and increased local revenue commitments.

II. REDUCTION OF RACIAL CONCENTRATION

Beyond raising the lowest segments of our school system to a level of investment more nearly comparable to the rest, there is the even more complex problem of breaking up the patterns of racial concentration that plague our cities. When we begin to achieve something more nearly approaching parity in the schools we will of course be removing one of the causes of middle-class fear and racial prejudice; white parents will become more willing to leave their children in better city schools, or to move back in to truly innovative new school systems. And increasing our investment in pre-school and elementary education, as well as our knowledge of how to teach slum children, will result in children of greater educational mobility. Exchanges and cooperative arrangements will thus become more attractive.

But we cannot wait and hope. We cannot run the risk of freezing Negro children into ghetto schools, even if they are improved; we have as a nation discarded the notion of "separate but equal."

Affirmative action at every level is required to break down the walls of segregation and pave the way for the Negro to have the same educational opportunity as that now available to white citizens.

AREA-WIDE WORKABLE PROGRAMS

The Federal Government should proclaim that it is national policy to reduce racial concentration in the schools—racial concentration of pupils, teachers, and other school personnel. Present and future education grants should be contingent on the presentation and approval of an area-wide "workable program" from the recipient community, designed to achieve this goal.

A satisfactory area-wide "workable program" should include an overall commitment to integrated, quality education, provision for administrative responsibility to achieve it, and explicit description of policies to be followed in assignment of teachers and other school personnel, site location, enrollment zones, statistical reporting, transportation, enrichment programs, and health and counseling services. It should describe efforts to involve the community in planning and evaluation, and should be related to other community programs in housing, employment, welfare, and other social services.

The adoption of this procedure in connection with increased funds would provide incentive to school districts to achieve the desired objectives. The incentive should be made great enough to produce the desired compliance with national policy.

Implied in such a requirement is, of course, a consciousness of race, and deliberate use of racial statistics and relationships in public documents. Congress has legislated against color-consciousness in the past, to the end of eradicating discrimination, but experience has shown that "color-blind" programs will not bring us to a "color-blind" society. On the contrary, experience has amply demonstrated that "color-blindness" has served as a shield for racial discrimination and a cover for the preservation of the segregated *status quo*.

Congress should declare a policy of "color-conscious" planning which will allow for reporting of racial identifications, tabulation of racial data, and provide for the confidentiality of such information where necessary.

PLANNING FOR SYSTEMATIC CHANGE

In addition to requiring that all Federal expenditures in education be subject to area-wide "workable program" requirements, funds will be needed for positive planning to reduce racial concentration. As a first step, the President asked the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in November of 1965, to document the extent of racial isolation in our country's schools, and to recommend solutions.

Congress should legislate funding authority for planning and implementation of plans to reduce racial imbalance, now explicitly excluded from the authority granted under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Such legislation might take the form of an amendment to Title IV of the Civil Rights Act to allow funds to be appropriated for the development of urban and rural master plans. Alternatively, it might take the form of proposals in two bills now before Congress which are directed to urban segregation problems and would provide increased financial assistance to areas that propose programs of this kind.

Communities should use such grants and other resources to study and devise mechanisms such as rezoning, clustering, pairing or merging schools; exchanging students or entering into cooperative arrangements with other parts of the metropolitan area; enlarging districts and experimenting with transportation patterns; building new schools or educational parks in strategic locations.

An essential part of the planning must deal with interdependent metropolitan planning, in schools as in other public services and facilities. School districts can be redefined to include both suburban and city elements. Most urban populations, which have grown to unforeseen size in a decade or two, override municipal boundaries. Although a population unit, the large metropolitan area is made up of hundreds of separate governmental units, including school districts, with independent jurisdictions and revenue powers. Among these units there is little correspondence between the need for public services and the ability to pay for them.

In addition, an essential part of this planning should include the private and church-supported schools, which now educate some 16 percent of the school population, and which often hold the only reservoirs of white children in inner-city locations. Their role in the particularly difficult urban centers is crucial—in fact in some cities they form a kind of second system enrolling between one-quarter and one-half of the total school population.

Some private schools have made outstanding efforts to provide scholarships and special programs for underprivileged children. Outside the South many church-related schools have at great sacrifice given classroom space to thousands of pupils from the ghetto who do not share the religious faith of the sponsoring group.

The difficult problem of church-state relations has been breached by innovations in recent education legislation, which provide Federal aid for impoverished children in private as well as public schools. Several cities have adopted "shared time" and "shared-service" arrangements between public and private schools.

Federal and state governments should study further the constitutional limitations on ways to use private education resources to confront racial problems, and where feasible increase cooperative arrangements with schools to improve education.

Further planning should, in addition, consider ways to incorporate such schools in innovative educational "parks," and to share teaching materials and curriculum studies which encourage better understanding of minorities. Plans to assist Negro pupils to move into schools of lesser racial concentration should include proportionate enrollment in private and church-related schools, with scholarship aid if necessary.

EXPANSION OF TITLE IV

These proposals to deal with problems of *de facto* segregation should not eclipse the size of the job still to be done to eliminate the dual system prevailing in the South. The experience to date with institutes and consultation provide under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to aid southern school districts in pupil desegregation has proved their value. At a time when the more profound changes involved in faculty desegregation are rising, it is shameful that the Congress has reluctantly provided a supplemental appropriation for this year of only $3 million, in spite of existing requests from Southern districts which, if funded, would cost far more. This appropriation must not only be funded up to present needs, but must be increased so that an affirmative program of compliance can be mounted by the Office of Education.

DEMONSTRATION CENTERS

Even the best planned changes depend on the existing educational establishment to carry them out, and experience has demonstrated that overburdened school administrators and municipal authorities are rarely as innovative as is necessary to tackle fundamental change. They and the public they serve would be encouraged or prodded by demonstrations of methods that work.

Another reason for a demonstration school is that it would not interfere with the traditional freedom of option available to school boards, but rather would function with a voluntary enrollment from inner-city children, perhaps drawing some suburban children back into the city; for such managed integration will doubtless at first be necessary.

The Federal Government should, therefore, enlarge the scope of present provisions for demonstration centers and greatly increase funds, in order to plan, establish, and operate model centers which experiment in increasing the quality of education and in reducing racial concentration.

Where possible these centers should be organized as educational parks, with enrollment ranging from children of the earliest ages through adults, operating every day, most evenings, and year-round. They should be funded as necessary to meet their needs. They should also seek to demonstrate what can be accomplished at present levels of funding with the injection of new ideas and new methods. They should become laboratories for teacher training, for research in materials and techniques, and for the many ideas contained in Part III below. They should also provide opportunity for longitudinal follow-through, and experiment with the best of remedial and guidance services.

Such model centers should be responsible to independent metropolitan boards of directors, representative of all the community, and should be coordinated with a single university or competent educational agency to avoid diffusion of responsibility.

TEACHERS AND OTHER SCHOOL PERSONNEL

Specific efforts must be made to promote integration in teacher and other school personnel assignments. Desegregation of schools cannot be effective until the staffs as well as the students are widely desegregated; school systems in both North and South should take affirmative steps to encourage such faculty desegregation by means of incentives for voluntary reassignment and where necessary deliberate reassignment. Programs such as the National Teacher Corps, and the National Teaching Fellowships for colleges can provide useful demonstrations of this kind.

Moreover, desegregating school systems have an obligation to retain teachers and other personnel who are displaced as a result of desegregation action, through reassignment without respect to race and retraining where necessary. A regrettable number of Negro teachers in the South have been dismissed as surplus. They should be given special assistance in reemployment and retraining. The provision for retraining institutes under the Higher Education Act of 1965 has provided welcome means of alleviating this problem. Private groups should undertake additional efforts like the placement service currently being provided by the National Educational Association.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

Rapidly expanding school population, plus the inadequacies of existing plant (especially secondary school plant) in many communities, urgently calls for new capital investment in school buildings.

Legislation and funds for construction of new schools should be provided, subject to provisions which tie them to the requirements of area-wide workable programs.

Office of Education funds are currently available for planning construction in this fashion. New programs for land use and residential changes, such as the Demonstration Cities Program within the Department of Housing and Urban Development, can add to the incentives which will guarantee that such construction will break up rather than intensify patterns of desegregation.

STRONGER SANCTIONS AGAINST SEGREGATION

All of the above recommendations are designed to encourage communities to plan affirmatively for improvement. But in the meantime even the sanctions already enacted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are failing in their purpose and must be strengthened. Many communities are so far out of step with national policy as to evade even the existing minimal requirements by Federal law.

It was the Congressional purpose, in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to remove school desegregation efforts from the courts, where they had been bogged down for more than a decade. Unless the power of the Federal purse is more effectively utilized, resistance to national policy will continue and, in fact, will be reinforced.

Congress has not sufficiently supported the Office of Education Title VI programs with funds and personnel necessary to investigate and support compliance. But even within these administrative restrictions there has been too little effort to demonstrate a firm purpose to enforce those sanctions which are already available. Judicial proceedings by the Attorney General can play an important role in enforcement, but litigation cannot be made a substitute for the administrative proceedings prescribed by Congress as the primary device for enforcing Title VI. Those school districts which remain in outright defiance of national policy should be subjected immediately to administrative action, lest the credibility of the national policy remain any longer in doubt.

The revised Title VI guidelines for school desegregation issued in March 1966 mark a significant step forward in resolving the difficult issues yet to be confronted. To achieve the intended results, the Office of Education must provide for a much enlarged technical staff, insist that compliance calls for meeting both the letter and the spirit of the law, and develop more prompt and efficient machinery for withholding or terminating Federal aid where reasonable compliance efforts have failed. Particular attention must be paid to faculty desegregation, and to preventing the firing of Negro teachers in the name of desegregation. It is time that the burden of desegregating the Southern schools be removed from the Negro parents and children where it now resides, and placed squarely on school boards and administrators.

In addition, Title VI unquestionably applies to many current practices in Northern schools which are normally described as *de facto* segregation, but which on closer investigation prove to be the result of deliberate administrative practices (i.e. gerrymandering of attendance zones, assignment of teachers). Office of Education personnel is at present inadequate to investigate these problems, set standards, and exact compliance. There is evident need for added commitment in this area.

Finally, pending legislation and administrative procedure that apply stronger criteria to all systems, Congress should enact explicit authority for withholding aid from communities whose state educational support has been terminated for failure to comply with state criteria consistent with national policy, as exemplified by Massachusetts state legislation.

COORDINATED FEDERAL ACTION

Federal education legislation has evolved in response to special needs and is located in a variety of agencies with a variety of emphases. The whole of Federal activities should be organized into a coherent policy for equality of educational opportunity. The Office of Education should be further strengthened, in order to maintain a strategic relationship with state and local administrators.

A valuable start in coordinating Office of Education and Office of Economic Opportunity programs has resulted in the new Office of the Disadvantaged and Handicapped within the Office of Education. A Sub-Cabinet committee is also considering cooperation and consolidation of Federal education efforts. Much more effective work can and should be done in this direction.

Federal education legislation should be codified by an Advisory Council with a research and drafting staff. Recommendations should be submitted to Congress as speedily as possible to achieve better coordination of such programs.

III. QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

Beyond the issues of separate and inferior schools for Negroes, there are basic weaknesses in our public education that affect children of all races and prevent schools from providing meaningful education for children of differing backgrounds.

Although existing legislation presents at least a beginning strategy for coping with the effects of discrimination, hopelessness, substandard life, and mediocre schools, complete remedies are far from realized. Increasing the funds spent on education so as to bring up per pupil expenditures will provide more individual attention and materials for each child. Reduction of racial barriers will have a crucial effect on the environment, which will make school a preparation for a better life.

But the quality and relevance of education are still basically a local option in America. Communities must realize that built-in inequities cannot be compensated for by an effort of a year or two, in effect shaking an educational aerosol can over our nation's slums.

Calling an educational effort a compensatory or remedial program does not make it one. For example, a remedial reading program which exposes a child to inappropriate materials by partially trained teachers for very short periods of time is simply a token stab at a major problem. Similarly, a pre-school program without an excellent teacher, a low pupil-teacher ratio, and follow-through in later grades may be useless.

Individuals and organizations, school boards and school administrators, civil rights groups and government officials, private foundations and other private resources must take on the hard task of reorganizing local education to establish flexible, healthy educational centers that belong to the community and to the children.

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The "four walls" school policy must give way to participation in the life of the community and coordination with urban renewal, health, welfare, and other social services. Schools should involve a broad range of community organizations in planning and reflect the needs and resources of the community in school program. This can be done through such methods as the assignment of school staff with a responsibility for community relations, the establishment of community advisory committees, and the involvement of parents and interpretation to them of the significance of school programs.

SCHOOL BOARDS

School boards must, as far as possible, be constituted so as to support a policy of equal opportunity, reduction of racial concentration, and improvement in the quality of education. Elected Boards must recognize their responsibility to constitutional requirements and to national policy as well as to local interests. The educational profession as well as individuals and organizations must take the initiative in bringing this about.

MORE FLEXIBLE SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

Reorganization is a priority for inferior schools, and for schools challenged by children outside the middle class stream for which most American education was designed. In the process, we will also learn much about the improvement of "good" education as it now operates.

Consideration should be given to a major reorganization of the school system in terms of goals, curriculum, methods, building construction and location of facilities, fiscal arrangements and support, instructional materials and textbooks, and training and selection of administrative and teaching personnel and the structure, role, and functions of school boards.

Citizens and school boards should apply to quality education the same innovative planning spirit as is needed to achieve equality of education. Among the institutional changes they can explore and apply are:

1. The way in which time is divided and alloted. School schedules are inflexible. New uses of free time, after-school hours, and year-round programs should be devised.

2. Method of entry into school. New kinds of pre-school programs, like Head

Start and other experiments, should be incorporated. Orientation, reception and placement centers for children entering the system, new to the system or to urban living, should be expanded.

3. Grouping for instruction. Many experiments in ungraded schools, variety of large and small groups, and more personalized instruction can be valuable.

4. The ways in which teachers and other professional personnel are utilized. A greater range of professional talent can be employed, such as internships for teachers-in-training devised to help more experienced teachers, community and volunteer aides used to free the best teachers for the most important assignments, aides in housekeeping and administrative duties, and various methods of "team-teaching".

5. Provision for better guidance and counseling, with better trained personnel an a lower counselor-student ratio.

6. Wider use of community resources, including volunteers, both in the classroom and in enrichment of extra-curricular activities.

7. Extensive use of schools and school personnel in continuing education for parents and out-of-school youth, including literacy programs.

SCHOOL FOOD PROGRAMS

It is important to drop the requirement that only children in special economic categories shall receive free school breakfasts and lunches, as we move toward centers that mix children of different social backgrounds. In a country of surplus foods, there is no reason why sufficient nourishment should not be available to all school children, without a welfare or other stigmatizing requirement. There is sufficient evidence that inadequate nourishment negatively influences school performance to recommend, for that reason alone, that adequate food (adequate both in quantity and in provision of the proper nutritional elements) should be made available for all.

PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

Over the last few years the importance of pre-school education for children from disadvantaged home environments has become widely accepted. Project Head Start, in particular, has demonstrated the value of bringing to three- and four-year-old children a combination of language stimulation, exposure to new materials and tools, the encouragement of curiosity and successful satisfaction of curiosity, and better health and social services. Engaging parents in both understanding the need and helping with its fulfillment has also been a vital part of this experimentation.

School systems should make kindergarten a regular part of the school program in the many areas where it does not now exist, with curriculum, teacher-pupil ratios, and enrichments patterned after successful experimental programs. Both schools and other agencies, such as community action programs, should add pre-kindergarten programs wherever they are needed to offset disadvantage, making use of early childhood development research.

SPECIAL ATTENTION TO RURAL SCHOOLS

In spite of the far-reaching consolidation movement, there remain many rural schools which are too small to provide satisfactory educational programs. One-room schools can still be found; two- and three-room schools are all too common, as well as others of insufficient size to offer the varied programs required to meet the needs of students of different capacities and abilities. These conditions are true in Negro schools. In many instances, the best these schools can offer is one teacher for multiple grades, up to as many as six grades for a single teacher. Adequate instruction can hardly be provided in such situations, no matter how good the teacher.

Rural communities, in addition to effecting meaningful consolidation, need to investigate curricular innovations which will prepare their children not only for probable migration elsewhere, but for the use of different kinds of vocational and technical skills. Similar innovation in transportation and possible boarding arrangements should be devised, in addition to general improvements including increased per capita expenditures discussed above.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Vocational education has not kept pace with the rapid changes in technology and work, and has not involved sufficiently the efforts of industry, labor, schools, agencies and organizations to make it relevant. The hopes inspired by the Vocational Education Act of 1963 have not been realized.

New state plans should be developed, consonant with equalization formulas and "workable programs"; funds should be increased to assist states with such a program. Such plans should give attention to:

1. Wider curriculum offerings in business and industrial education in cooperation with local business and industry, pre-employment training in distributive fields, health services, electronics, etc.
2. Broader technical training, available in places where affected individuals live.
3. Minority representation on councils, boards of institutions, manpower and apprenticeship programs, and state and local boards.
4. New conceptual models for students with educational or socio-economic handicaps.

At the same time, vocational agricultural programs should be put into an integrated framework through state planning and increased Federal pressure, and funds should be allocated to modernize and equalize such programs.

Negro students in present agricultural programs have little opportunity for work experience in local agri-business; they are largely confined to obsolete land-based agricultural projects. Such out of date programs need to be abolished, and teachers retrained.

Modernization plans should consider:

1. High school courses in agri-business occupations which would lead to specific jobs on graduation together with continuing evening school.
2. Scholarships for retraining teachers.
3. Subsidies for trainees' transport to more distant localities with better work experience.
4. More pressure on superintendents and administrators to eliminate bias within the system.

NEW LEARNING MATERIALS

There are wide gaps between existing learning materials and those which:

1. Present the unique contributions of all minority groups to the development of the United States.

2. Meet the differences in needs of students of varying backgrounds, abilities, and aspirations.

3. Reflect increasing knowledge and use of new technological resources.

In addition, history and social science curricula should confront more directly the issues involved in segregation and civil rights, and generally give more realistic experience to young Americans in the realm of our social problems.

Federal research agencies and private funds should give priority to developing such materials, and state and local school authorities should give priority to acquisition and expanded use of such materials.

HIGHER EDUCATION

It is recommended that the Federal Government state as a national policy its obligation to assure each individual an equal opportunity to secure the benefits of higher education without regard to color, social status, and financial ability.

Some of the most imaginative progress made both nationally and by private organizations over the last few years has been directed to the access of Negro youth to higher education. The Upward Bound program of OEO, developing out of numerous private experiments in supplemental work for students of college potential, is full of promise. The Federal "Economic Opportunity Grants" made possible by the Higher Education Act of 1965, work-study possibilities, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps all deal with school finances for disadvantaged students in promising new ways.

We should build on these foundations in the following ways:

1. Two years of post-secondary education should be made available at public expense for all high school graduates.

Community colleges should offer terminal or transferable education, and should concentrate on vocational-technical and adult education programs.

2. At least as a transitional measure, Negro colleges should be adequately supported and strengthened.

The report on Negro colleges by Professor McGrath of Columbia University properly recognizes the dependence of a large majority of Negro students upon the Negro colleges and concludes that "most of the predominantely Negro institutions ought to be preserved and strengthened". Approximately 100,000 students are enrolled in some 107 of these colleges, about 7,000 in junior colleges.

The aim of the large majority of these colleges is not to preserve their segregated status; many have, in fact, made a start on student and faculty integration. But until the quality of the education which they offer can compete with other institutions, there is no hope that they can be absorbed into the general higher education system, whether public or private.

Moreover, thousands of young Negroes, the product of inferior and separate school systems, depend on these institutions as their only hope for advanced education. The role of the Negro college has often been to compensate for the deficiencies of secondary education and open doors to occupations that would otherwise be closed to Negroes. Realities indicate that Negro colleges will continue to serve large numbers of Negroes for some years to come.

An important start on improving these Negro colleges as well as other struggling institutions has been made through Title III of the Higher Education Act, whose first grants will shortly be announced. It has been funded at the rate of $30 million for next year. This amount will perhaps give sufficient scope for judgments about the kinds of assistance that are proving most valuable, but it cannot meet the overall needs of Negro colleges. To raise per capita expenditure in Negro colleges to a scale comparable to other colleges would cost approximately $66 million a year—and this would not make up the deficits in faculty training, plant and equipment, and library resources, to say nothing of investment in adminitsrative and curricular reform.

It can further be anticipated that well before Negro students are absorbed into white colleges and before the Negro college becomes truly integrated the Negro colleges as now constituted will probably double their enrollment. Any consideration of support for them should therefore take into account the necessity of some $450 million to educate these additional students.

3. Negro students need better guidance and aid in entering medical careers, including integrated internships and residencies; as a transitional measure, major Negro medical schools should be strengthened.

The present low proportion of Negro medical students is attributable more to the small number of applicants for admission, and to their lack of qualifications for admission, than to the discriminatory admission practices which prevailed in the relatively recent past. The general deficiencies in educational equality and quality for Negroes, and the failure of schools to inspire or motivate Negroes to seek medical careers, need special corrective action.

Better counseling in secondary school and more adequate scholarship and fellowship aid should be directed to low-income students, to guide them into para-medical as well as full professional careers.

Negro medical graduates should thereafter have equal access to internships, residencies, and hospital staff appointments; barriers to admission of Negro patients in hospitals must be broken down not only for the sake of the patients but as an important accompaniment to the integration of hospital staff.

Although complete integration in medical education and practice is the goal, it must be recognized that in a transition period a disproportionately large share of Negroes will receive their medical education in Negro medical schools, especially Howard University and Meharry Medical College. These schools should be strengthened in the same way and for the same reasons as other Negro colleges.

4. All citizens—post-high school youth and adults—should have the right and the responsibility continuously to upgrade their education in order to maintain a fully productive and responsible role in society.

Adult education programs should give special attention to adults with educationally deprived backgrounds, the skills and understanding necessary for economic self-sufficiency, materials designed to give appreciation of minority group contributions, provision for full-time study when desired, and materials designed for adults rather than children.

5. Critical changes in teacher recruitment, training, and clinical experience should have high priority.

Conventional programs of teacher education are grossly inadequate. The gaps between the teachers' own background and that of the students, the increasing heterogenity of school populations, teachers' insensitivity, cultural differences and unfamiliarity with instructional materials reflecting the environment of pupils—all present grave problems. For the great majority of teachers, that which has been omitted or neglected in pre-service training is unlikely to be gained in later years.

To remedy these deficiencies, recruitment should be vigorously instituted by State Departments of Education, boards of education, and professional organizations among social and economic groups other than the "middle-class" and among minority groups. (See Appendix)

Teacher education curricula should be modified to emphasize social and behavioral sciences, the history of minorities, cultural anthropology, and more effective instructional materials. The funds available in Title V of the Higher Education Act to improve schools of education can contribute new incentives to these changes, if they are administratively granted with a wider concern than simply to upgrade skills in specific subjects.

State meetings of administrators and policy makers should initiate change in institutional accreditation, program approvals, and teacher certification.

Southern schools of education should take the lead in new curricula to prepare teachers for integrated schools; real change in this area can be promoted by young teachers. Such schools should also design in-service courses in faculty desegregation and make them known to school systems throughout their area. Advice in such curricula is available at a number of Southern centers established under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and funds are available through public and private sources. What still is absent is commitment and leadership from the universities.

Clinical experience in urban and rural schools of all types, supervised by professionals based at nearby institutions, should be made more relevant and should be provided on an integrated basis. Where practice teaching is sponsored on a segregated basis, the university should be subject to investigation for Title VI violations. Beyond this, however, both student-teachers and their supervisors need more practical experience related to cultural differences and teaching materials within the grasp of disadvantaged children, and need more contact with classroom teachers skilled in these ways. Supervisors of clinical experience need retraining institutes, and at least one such institute in each state should be financed by the Federal Government, perhaps in connection with the demonstration centers discussed earlier.

Funds for the National Teacher Corps should be appropriated by Congress, as this small program could have a large influence in revitalizing teacher commitment to the education of the poor and minorities. The integration of its experienced teachers, both in training and on-the-job, should be mandatory.

All fellowship programs and in-service training institutes for teachers should by now require integrated recruiting, staffing, and training. Southern universities and colleges which administer National Defense Education Act, and Higher Education Act fellowships should be investigated for discriminatory practices in recruitment and admissions policies, and NDEA and National Science Foundation institutes for teachers should not be funded at institutions which do not provide integrated settings for them.

RESEARCH

Research and evaluation should be consciously and meaningfully related to what is, after all, the prime national resource: the intellectual capabilities of the entire population.

The changes necessary to achieve the goals enunciated in this report will not be brought about by underfunded and instant programs. As we do not plan a year's research in order to develop the technology to reach the moon, a single year is not a realistic period for more than preliminary investigations into education and related social sciences. It may be that society will be required to take some measure of risk in supplying major support for individuals to do long-term longitudinal investigations. But such extensive and systematic investigations will provide the foundation for quality education for all.

Further, the great expansion of educational programs calls for unprecedented levels of evaluation to measure program effectiveness and guide program modifications.

Research is the core of the effort to overcome social and psychological consequences of poverty and discrimination. It will be expensive and of long duration. But basic reforms and innovations must not await definitive research results; research and reform should proceed concurrently.

Evaluation of educational programs should be made by agencies or individuals other than those responsible for administration of programs. Guidelines for evaluation should be developed with the assistance of the Office of Statistical Standards of the Bureau of the Budget. Foundations and the increasing number of private educational agencies may also contribute importantly to educational research and the evaluation of education programs.

There is special need for research in:

1. Human learning processes and the extent to which they are influenced by broad and specific environments.
2. Developmental stages at which intervention is effective, and the kinds of intervention that is effective at various stages.
3. Multiple curriculum strategies.
4. Short and long term effects of various types of educational hardware.

CONCLUSION

In summary, education has failed to meet the challenge of rapid technological, social and population change, and by reason of this failure has gravely aggravated the disadvantaged position of the Negro. Until the educational system is strengthened to provide every child with basic, saleable, and citizenship skills, as well as a relevant personal experience of the open society, the Negro cannot take his rightful place in American life.

Mere admixture of white and Negro pupils will not constitute integration unless other basic changes are produced at the same time. Public and private programs to retain and bring back middle-class white population to central cities and to promote integration in housing, employment, religion, and society in general, are essential to the achievement of genuine social integration.

Unless we are successful in solving the problem, our metropolitan areas could become frozen into Negro central cores characterized by physical deterioration, poverty, and wasted human resources, surrounded by a white middle-class fringe living in perpetual fear of the central city Negro population.

Thus, as this paper has made clear, in broad terms our goals must be to:

1. Guarantee to every child equal access to the best that our society knows how to provide, by raising the investment of human and financial resources in every school to higher standards.
2. Redress the racial imbalances in our schools and cities by deliberate "color-conscious" manipulation, confronting the difficult issue posed by increasing segregation in many parts of the country.
3. Strengthen the educational content and techniques of our schools, from preschool through higher education, by bringing all our research and experience to bear on new measures to produce healthy, independent, and creative citizens.

To achieve these goals we must be willing to accept their interrelationship. The only truly viable solutions will arise from communities which treat the issues as a whole, and devise connecting and continuous plans to carry them toward the goals simultaneously—in short, "workable programs."

State administrative and financial reforms are crucial. Federal sanctions against unconstitutional and inhumane conditions, Federal investment, and experimental leadership are equally vital. But the heart of educational change, as with its social and economic framework, lies in the commitment of each community to higher goals.

And the community commitment involves much more than modification of policy and program by government and school systems. It depends on a broad base of cooperation, and the active participation of religious institutions, business and labor organizations, civic and community groups, social and fraternal societies, private foundations, and individual families and citizens.

The problem is acute. The need for action is urgent. We cannot afford to let education fail in its time-honored contribution to the development of this Nation: creating unity out of a diversity of ethnic and racial groups, and maintaining an open society in which each individual can rise to limits set only by his own capacity.

LOCAL ACTION PROJECTS IN EDUCATION

The objectives of equal educational opportunity, higher quality of education, and reduction of racial concentration in the schools cannot be achieved by the schools alone. They require the cooperation and concerted effort of all elements of the public. The organized non-governmental elements of society including the church, business and labor organizations, and civic and social organizations, must lend their efforts to the attainment of these crucial goals. Individual citizens and families—parents and children—must also do their part in this necessary national program.

Educators have a right to be concerned lest schools take on too many of the problems stemming from family and community inadequacies. They must recognize, however, that the schools have come to be viewed as strategic centers for meeting the needs of social and technological change, and for remedying widespread social and racial injustices. Federal and state funds and technical assistance are becoming increasingly available for this purpose. These new resources make it all the more important that citizens and private groups, especially business leadership, join in the development of new ideas and solutions.

Great impetus would be achieved by a strong call from the President to all Americans in all walks of life, in all age groups, and of all ethnic and religious cultural backgrounds to further a policy of equal opportunity for education, improving the quality of education, and reducing racial concentration in the schools.

There are a number of ways in which the general public can help. Among these are the following types of programs, examples of which follow the general descriptions.

1. Organizing corps of volunteers for cooperation with the schools in enriching the educational program. Effective academic progress involves a balance between the effort of the school and support and assistance rendered by the family. The volunteer who works with a child for one or two periods each week supplies a substitute for the individual assistance which some families cannot offer.

Academic volunteer workers in education have three basic functions:

a. Individual one-to-one work with pupils who are below grade level in basic academic subjects.

b. Homework help for those pupils who do not have the motivation or the family setting to do their homework assignments effectively.

c. Academic enrichment for pupils who can be stimulated by additional work, such as reading groups, or extra use of the school and public library.

2. Organizing corps of volunteers for cooperation with the schools in administrative and housekeeping functions. Such duties could include supervision of children in corridors, lunchrooms, and playgrounds; assistance in record keeping, registration and health examinations; helping the classroom teachers with equipment and special projects. The sheer presence of adult and young volunteers in the school helps the teaching personnel in maintaining order and supervision. A volunteer program should include these essential tasks, but these activities are not the core of a modern volunteer program. In fact, some of these activities should be carried on by community action programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Such programs should make use of local indigenous persons as a form of self-help and training which will ultimately lead to productive employment in the labor force. Both volunteers and paid aides can work together with mutual respect.

3. Organizing corps of volunteers for cultural enrichment of children in culturally deprived areas. Such duties should include escorting children to museums, concerts, fairs, educational trips and tours and many other types of extracurricular activities designed to open new vistas of living and opportunity to opportunity-deprived youngsters.

4. Organizing suburban communities to cooperate with inner city schools in effecting an admixture of white suburban children and inner city Negro pupils. In the absence of metropolitan area school districts, individual political units or volunteer civic groups can cooperate across existing school district lines so as to bring new educational opportunity and enriched education both to suburban white and inner city Negro students.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The kinds of activities defined above are, in fact, under way in a number of communities. Illustrations are given below, grouped by type of organizational approach rather than function. They are chosen not because they have been without opposition or instances of failure, but because they point to new and promising avenues of action.

CITIZEN COMMITTEES

A starting point for many communities has been a metropolitan or city-wide group, often formed at the initiative of just a few persons, and bringing in as many cooperating private agencies as possible.

In Cleveland, for example, three concerned citizens brought together in informal talks a group of some 23 representative citizens, not necessarily members of the traditional "power structure." When they became convinced of the need to study and publish a report on unmet educational needs in the metropolitan area, they secured a small grant from a local foundation to pay for minimal staff assistance on mechanics; the ideas were largely their own and included many specific recommendations.

In Pittsburgh a recent effort along the same lines has been organized around a committee headed by an influential newspaper editor and working closely with the school superintendent. New Orleans is also beginning such a city-wide committee to involve leading citizens.

In Norfolk, Virginia, a Council for the Improvement of Education grew in a different fashion out of the concern of middle class Negroes and white liberals over a published report of the low achievement levels of Negro children. Five Negro civic organizations and a Negro newspaper banded together to give structure and publicity to a council that had various committees of citizens treating different aspects of the problem.

In some cases a private agency can be responsible for the first efforts as in Wilmington, Delaware, where in 1960 the National Conference of Christians and Jews sponsored a community committee which worked closely with school personnel over a project period of three years.

The amounts of money vary from community to community, but in most cases community organization can be carried on with minimal funds. The Wilmington three-year project, for instance, cost only about $10,000—and depended heavily on volunteer and donations "in kind" from a wide variety of sources. Once a concrete program is under way, sources of money can be developed to expand the outreach of the effort. When the Cleveland report was published, its authors went back to the local foundation for a grant of $100,000 to implement its recommendations—but they have augmented that initial investment by an additional $500,000 raised from foundations, business, and individuals in the community.

A primary principle of such community education committees has proved to be the attraction of every organized source of help. The united fund raising organizations can become important sources of financial support for new agencies geared to educational needs, as well as health and welfare. In Norfolk, for example, the Health-Welfare-Recreation Planning Council was so influenced by the enrichment centers set up by the new committee that it developed a whole new approach to long-range anti-poverty planning.

Parent-teacher associations can take on new momentum for parental involvement and pressure to improve schools. Alumnae associations of prestige schools have been inspired to provide more scholarship aid to low-income individuals when they can call on assistance in locating promising students. In Wilmington, the American Association of University Women provided curriculum enrichment projects for citizens, the Unitarian Church contributed money for emergency lunches, and both organizations together with the Junior League mobilized a teacher-aide program. In Cleveland a wide range of organizations has contributed time, money, and personnel, from the United Church Women to the Retired Teacher Association, from the Girl Scouts to faculty wives' clubs.

SCHOOL INITIATED COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

In many communities, it is the school system itself which has taken the lead in involving resources and commitment from outside agencies. While many schoolmen do not as yet welcome "amateur" help of this kind, it is clear that demonstrations in this area are more and more widespread. Twelve of the fifteen largest cities in the United States now use volunteers in their schools during class hours, and many systems incorporate non-professionals, parents, and neighbors in after-school activities, often supported by Poverty Program funds.

In Detroit, for example, lay readers assist English teachers in the Detroit Experimental English Project, reading and correcting themes and supervising reading rooms.

Oakland, California, is studying the use of noncertified health assistants to release the official school nurses for more intensive problems, such as working with the physically and mentally handicapped.

Charlotte-Mecklenburg school district in North Carolina trains students in the Neighborhood Youth Corps as physical education, clerical, janitorial, library, cafeteria and other teacher aides for the schools. This re-involvment of the student in his school while he is earning money to keep him in school is guided by committees which include not only teachers and counselors, but also PTA and community agency representatives. Community resources can be drawn on not only for the recruitment of aides, but also for advice and consultation. There is a particular need for active business leadership in the development of vocational education programs.

The Advisory Committee on Vocational Education in Quincy, Massachusetts, has worked closely with the schools for several years in the development of a new vocational high school, based on training for existing employment possibilities and on continuing research into technological change.

An assistant principal in Glendora, California, gained the interest and advice of local industrialists in a six-week junior high orientation program, which involved field visits by the students to local industry, culminating in a week's work in the occupation of their choice.

Men's day luncheons in Wilmington bring successful men, often without degrees, into schools to talk with boys about career possibilities.

A key ingredient in the success of the Banneker project in St. Louis was the exposure of both parents and eighth grade students to panels of successful young people, who described the kinds of employment they had found, and the amount of education required to get there, thus relating the future more meaningfully to the school work.

The drop-out problem was tackled in Corpus Christi, Texas, by a Community Committee on Youth Education and Job Development which worked closely with the Corpus Christi School District to produce a plan for remedial instruction, after-school study centers, and pre-school readiness. The superintendent felt that it was the strength of community involvement, and the growing commitment of the teachers, which enabled the project to be successful. Funds were provided under the Economic Opportunity Act.

Wider use of community cultural resources is also being initiated in many areas, often with aid from Federal funds in Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Act.

A New York City project brings the American Museum of Natural History to school by means of eight mobile units, under the theme "The World We Live In." Instructors are trained in the Museum, and travel with the units. Nature study and new awareness of the importance of conservation of natural resources are made possible by setting aside a portion of a Staten Island park for programs for both public and private school children.

UNIVERSITIES

Universities are beginning to relate more importantly to educational improvement at the elementary and secondary levels, largely through involvement in tutorial projects.

Tuskegee Institute has pioneered, through its Summer Education Project, in the use of college students in rural tutoring jobs on their summer vacation. Queen's College in New York has more than one kind of tutoring program in operation; its College Discovery Program is now operated by the New York Board of Higher Education, and seeks to enable city pupils to attain the entrance requirements of city colleges and universities.

Students themselves, acting independently, have sponsored many tutorial projects, large and small. For example, the Northern Student Movement, made up of civil rights groups on campuses in the Northeast, initiated a tutorial project in the summer of 1962 in Philadelphia which recruited and matched 175 tutors and 375 pupils in 19 different centers.

A similar effort to enlist college students as summer tutors was begun in 1964 in North Carolina, under the joint auspices of the North Carolina Fund and the U.S. Office of Education. Small meetings on various college campuses produced recruits from which the final 100 tutors were selected. Communities were selected because of their previous relationship to Fund projects, and efforts were made to involve and inform local people. The evaluation of this project has been thorough, and its lessons used in developing other projects, such as the VISTA program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Not only has the project itself continued and grown, but on nearly all the campuses touched by it, side programs have developed.

In other areas, however, universities have not yet risen to the challenge. This is particularly true in teacher education. There are only occasional examples of real innovation in university-community projects, such as project APEX operated by New York University in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area which seeks out slum students, motivates them to try for teacher training, and provides a special university curriculum for them when they graduate from high school. They will then return to the ghetto communities as teachers of a new kind.

INDEPENDENT CITIZEN ACTION

In areas where school initiative is not forthcoming, or overall citizen planning has not yet begun, individuals and agencies can still operate effectively to reach children for whom the schools are inadequate. Experience as well as careful research shows that children need individual help and respond to such help. This type of individual attention can never be accomplished by professionals, since today, tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow, there never will be enough professionals to do these jobs.

More than 100 after-school centers staffed by volunteers operate in Chicago under the coordination of the Committee of New Residents of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations.

And a summer educational day-camp flourished in a public housing project in Chicago under the sponsorship of the Chicago Catholic Interracial Council, reaching more than 1,000 children with new hope and skills.

ACTION TO REDUCE RACIAL CONCENTRATION

Even in the absence of meaningful metropolitan plans to reduce racial concentration, both school systems and individual organizations can make a start on this essential problem. One way is to provide individual scholarships to private and parochial schools for disadvantaged youth, as has been pioneered by the Independent Schools Talent Search.

Regardless of the actions of the city school system itself, there are many actions that can be taken by suburban communities to acknowledge their mutual relationship to the city—and, in terms of their own self-interest, to forestall some of the predictable threats to the quality of their own school systems which a worsening of the situation may well produce. Examples:

The Hartford Chamber of Commerce has led in preparing an application for Title I funds which would enable four suburban communities to provide space for a total of 300 children from Hartford.

A suburb of Rochester, under the leadership of the school superintendent, has voluntarily taken a group of inner-city children. Plans are now under way for many more nearby suburban districts to follow this path.

Also instructive is "Project Wingspread" in the North Shore suburbs of Chicago which is attempting to bring North Shore suburban white children into schools with inner city Negro children in Chicago. Such efforts should be funded not only by public but, also, private foundations to pave the way for expanded efforts.

Suburban communities can work with inner city schools on such cooperative ventures under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. One board of education and superintendent can take the lead, gain state approval, and seek to enlist others in surrounding areas.

Title II funds are available for supplementary centers designed to serve inter-system needs. They can be centers with special instructional equipment (electronic aids, language laboratories, TV equipment, special tapes, etc.) or cultural centers with stage and sound equipment, or reading improvement centers with programmed instruction. They can be new permanent buildings, reconverted existing plants, or mobile laboratories. Such a center within a city—with, for example, the latest science equipment—would attract suburban children or white middle class children from private and parochial schools in the area. Thus, the city school at which the center was located would play an important role in integration, as well as taking a major step toward high quality within the ghetto.

Richmond, Virginia, has proposed such a center in science which would include a planetarium and auditorium as well as mathematical and engineering equipment, and would serve not only Richmond but five surrounding counties.

EDUCATION—
SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The dominant view of the conferees was that state and local failures in education have been so prevalent that solutions must be found in increasing use of national authority, both in terms of finance and in the enforcement of policies of equality.

"As long as we approach this problem on the basis of Federal supplementation, Federal bailing out or Federal arm twisting on locally run educational patterns, we will be pursuing this issue at a conference a decade from now."

Many conferees were enthusiastic in their support of the Council's recommendation that the President issue a strong call for more leadership on the part of state and local officials in providing *"equality as a fact and equality as a result."* They felt that such an overt identification of national responsibility and aims in education would make their local goals more attainable.

Some advocated the further step of establishing national standards of per pupil expenditure, and asked for a Federal pronouncement, with a timetable and priorities firmly set, on the suggested goal of $1000 per pupil. Also proposed were national minimum standards in curriculum, teacher training, laboratories, and building facilities—in short, a national accreditation system, to which all local systems could aspire. Some suggested that Federal grants be conditioned on evidence that districts were striving to meet such national standards.

Others felt that progress could be made within the existing bounds of state control, using Federal funds as leverage and incentive. And some felt that the Federal bureaucracy would not be any more reliable than local and state bureaucracies; citizens should depend instead on political action to improve their local situation.

A second major issue occupying the conferees was a related one; that is, the concern with means to insure that school boards promote rather than thwart the best interests of all members of the community. Many cited instances in which their local boards had blocked community interests or demonstrated insensitivity to the needs of all the children. Such inadequacies are seen as major frustrations, since so many of the relevant decisions about school district boundaries, student transfers, transportation systems, and the quality of education, are in the hands of local boards.

"It is quite disgusting to hear educated men, men who have had every advantage in the field of education, trying to find some way to keep from doing the right thing."

Most conferees saw the general answer to this problem in Federal action affecting the makeup of school boards. Some advocated national appointment of board members, or national requirements that boards be integrated:

"If the Federal Government would say that your boards of education have to be integrated, it would be understood."

"In order to qualify to spend Federal funds there would have to be some integration, and certainly I hope something can be done whereby the people that represent the Negro communities on boards will not be those who are chosen by white people, but Negro groups in the community will have a say as to who represents them."

"Maybe we can set up some kind of national standard of grading school boards . . . and special attention should be given to suburban districts that have become beachheads of bias."

Some advocated forcing or persuading board members to comply with national policy:

"If the Federal Government is really going to help us, somehow you are going to have to find a way to insist that these boards of education and superintendents and others who have to do with shaping and carrying out policy will be made to toe the line."

"I want to suggest that there might be some national planning and training sections for school board members in modern management methods, resources which are available to them, that would in some way strengthen the effectiveness of school boards."

Some advocated citizen political organizations to elect better board members:

"We ought to utilize the full facilities of our respective service organizations in the interest of eliminating from the scene those persons who are representatives on the boards of education that are contrary in thinking in regard to making democracy work in the field of education."

Others concentrated on ways to deal with school systems which are exercising their prerogatives in detrimental ways:

"Funds should be provided for a person right under the board of education who would go out into the low income, deprived areas, find out what parents think are wrong with the schools, and feed this up into the policy-making arm and get away from all of this distorted information."

"We happen to be in a community where the school board has refused to accept the primary and secondary education act funds. These funds are very badly needed. We have approximately 20 percent of our population who are considered illiterate, who don't have a fifth grade education. We feel that if a greater degree of

cooperation between the Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity could be brought about where the local governing boards do not see fit to avail themselves of funds that are presently available, they can possibly be used in the community."

". . . wherever the Federal Government finds a school board blocking the funds, the result being disadvantage of any minority school, that the blocked funds shall be under the control of a Federally appointed administrator, and shall be available to the disadvantaged school."

I. EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENT

There was general agreement with the suggested goal of $1,000 per pupil as the kind of investment needed to bring all schools up to the level necessary to provide decent education for all children. There was considerable concern, however, with the sources of these funds—some suggesting that Federal income taxes be turned back to the states and cities for educational purposes, and some suggesting that the Federal Government increase its appropriations through existing and new legislation.

One conferee cautioned that the amount recommended "*may strike the public in general and the American taxpayer in particular as so unreasonable and so unattainable as to completely discredit our deliberations and conclusions,*" but others felt that the public must quickly be educated as to the cost of adequate education for all, and the even greater costs of the alternative.

It was pointed out, for example, that the average per capita cost in a juvenile detention home is $4,300, as contrasted with the average annual cost of a college education of $1,000. The gross national product can be increased by insuring through appropriate investment that people do not end up on the public welfare rolls. For example, a conferee pointed out that an investment of $5 billion in the G.I. Bill of Rights has yielded some $20 billion to the nation in increased earning power and production.

Conferees felt that new legislation made possible many necessary reforms, but expressed the following concerns:

1. Legislation should not be passed unless it can be promptly and fully funded, as expectations are raised and resulting disappointments increased when acts are announced that cannot be carried out.

"*Last summer at the White House Conerence we heard that we could go back home and make plans for Federal money under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for a three year period. Eight months later our Administration told us we should plan on 85 percent of what we had expected.*"

"*The Elementary and Secondary Act had authorization for funding for three to five years for some of it, but the funds were only set for one year. No school board can effectively plan for a long term meaningful program when we have such a little time to plan and continue.*"

"*Ask Congress to pass nothing that it does not intend to fund and support, because each thing they pass that is not funded and supported further alienates the people.*"

2. Matching requirements of Federal grants should be reexamined. It was pointed out, for example, that predomi-

nantly Negro institutions are often unable to meet Federal matching requirements.

3. There is need for improved public information on Federal funds available for education. Conferees asked for the establishment of a Federal office to coordinate and supply information on request. (There appeared to be little awareness that the Office of the Disadvantaged in the the Office of Education has a function of this kind.) They also asked that information about new legislation be disseminated more promptly. The uncertainty over qualifications for Title III grants under the Higher Education Act, and the difficulties of non-accredited colleges in receiving aid, were mentioned as examples. It is clear that much more remains to be done by local organizations in disseminating information about Federal programs.

II. REDUCTION OF RACIAL CONCENTRATION

The primary recommendation of the Council in this area—that Federal funds be made contingent on the development of workable programs covering metropolitan or *"regional"* areas, in which education and housing and economic planning would be coordinated—occasioned relatively little discussion. There was wide recognition, however, that problems of education interact with problems of housing and economics, that the civil rights question is, in fact, the *"seamless web"* of disadvantage.

"It is impossible to separate programs on education, housing, and economics, because where you live has something to do with your education, and where you live is determined in large measure by your economic position, and your economic position in great measure is determined by your education."

A number of conferees expressed the belief that the educational park or plaza is the most promising device for meeting this problem, and many expressed the opinion that *"the neighborhood school is as out of date as the one-room school house."* As one conferee put it:

"The neighborhood school today, and all the problems connected with it, are like the one-man grocery store. We all love it, but where do we take our business? To the supermarket.' Until we do that sort of planning we cannot establish a total school or exemplary programs, to meet the needs of all the kids. Education being fluid has the tendency to take the shape of its container, and our containers just aren't right the way they are."

It was suggested that educational centers should be located on the periphery of large cities, should be inclusive in terms of the age of persons served (from pre-school through adult education), and should be of high quality, including demonstration classrooms, electro-magnetic laboratories, outstanding libraries, museums, and the like. There was strong feeling that we should *"expand neighborhood school boundaries to the political boundaries of the city, and into the next phase of regional planning."*

Among the major concerns of participants was the current use of school building funds by local systems to promote rather than reduce racial concentration. Several examples were cited, including one in which legal action is being taken against a school board.

One suggestion was that national review

boards be established to investigate *"municipal bond issues for the construction of public schools to determine whether or not these bonds are issued in complete conformity with the requirements of the Federal Government"* and that *"school districts should be penalized with measures in addition to the withdrawal of Federal funds when they do not comply."* It was further suggested, in this same vein, that *"in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare a bonding review committee be established. If all of our local communities contemplating bonds would have to submit these bonds for review, we would then be in a position to make factual determinations to tell you exactly what the community is going to do."*

It was a virtually unanimous sense of the discussion groups that high priority must be given to explicit national measures to combat *de facto* segregation. Among the specific proposals were:

1. Systematic examination of judicial actions which would provide a basis for constitutional construction of the 14th Amendment that would require correction of racial imbalance in the schools.

2. Special Federal incentives and funds to states which, like Massachusetts, have declared a public policy of mandatory correction of racial imbalance.

3. Incentive payments to districts which take affirmative corrective action, as provided by the bill S. 2928 now before the Senate. Others felt that a double system of incentives for corrective action, combined with sanctions against failure to act, as proposed in H.R. 13079 now before the Congress, would be more effective.

4. Federal funds to help those school boards which have decided to provide transportation to deal with *de facto* segregation.

5. Special scholarships for students going to schools in city ghetto areas, and summer work for these students in the poverty areas to supply extra credits.

Regardless of the methods suggested for coping with the problem, nearly all the delegates felt that the impact of segregated schools "is the same whether it is *de jure* or *de facto*." The "same stigma of inferiority, the same scar that a Negro gets in a *de jure* segregated school" is present in the *de facto* segregated school. Many conferees rejected the notion that good education necessarily means getting Negro children into a white school. They maintained that real correction requires *"integrating the predominantly Negro schools in the inner city with white children"* as well as integrating the suburban schools. This was recognized to depend on increasing the availability of funds to improve the quality of education in inner-city schools.

Some conferees referred to the often expressed fear that:

"We pay a price in excellence for equality when we first combine pupils from what have been predominantly poor and Negro schools with pupils from what have been predominantly white and upper middle class schools."

They suggested that we need both research and new incentives to hasten progress in this area. It was proposed that colleges agree to admit or give special consideration to students who volunteer to go to inner-city schools, regardless of their quality, for the sake of integration.

At the same time, it was urged that Federal enforcement power needs to be brought to bear on systems which practice violations of the Civil Rights Acts within a supposedly *de facto* situation. Conferees spoke of the example of Chicago, whose Federal funds were restored in spite of serious charges of discrimination. In short, it was agreed that it is necessary to establish under national legislation and policy the illegality of *de facto* segregation.

ENFORCEMENT OF TITLE VI

Each of the twelve committees passed a resolution expressing dissatisfaction with the pace, scope, and significance of Federal action to desegregate the public schools of the nation, both North and South. One panel expressed the common sentiment:

"We note that in the twelve years following the Supreme Court Desegregation Decision and two years after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, no more than 10 per cent of all minority group children are attending integrated schools. We note with horror the increase in Northern segregation. It is our firm belief that dynamic and consistent Federal effort could do much to remedy this situation."

Conference discussions were studded with examples of illegal and inhumane practices, as illustrated by the following statements:

"I am aware and experienced about this thing, because I have a house and it looks just like a polka dot dress with shots. This is what happens, and . . . some of these people [from Washington] come down there, they won't even go close to the school.

"In my county there was not a single Negro in the previously all white school, and they all give the same reason, fear. Of eight Negroes that went to [the Junior College] one man had his brains beaten, and another man was shot at."

"In one county there have been 300 people who applied for transfer under the freedom of choice, and only one went because we are so exposed, we cannot hide. Everyone knows what everyone else is doing."

"Now in Mississippi they don't call it integration, the people they call it sending your kid to the white school, because that is exactly what it amounts to and they all wonder what this means to their children, you know, psychologically and otherwise."

"My son was the only Negro boy in the high school, and I am certain that even Shakespeare's wordpower to write could not put into words the anxiety, the heartaches, and the dark hours they have passed through. On any afternoon when my wife would come back from getting our son, I was almost afraid to look at her."

Over and over, the conferees asked for stricter enforcement of the guidelines and protection for the children who take the first steps in desegregation.

Many conferees asked that *"freedom of choice"* plans be eliminated as an accepted method of compliance. Many pointed out the ineffectiveness of complaint procedures where complainants cannot be found because of intimidation. Some suggested better procedures for full and prompt hearings and for duplicate transfer request forms to be made public, so that all may know how the school boards are dealing with these requests. Some advocated that the guidelines require school boards themselves to be integrated in order to assure adequate representation of Negroes in policy decisions.

"The guidelines we are presently living under that exempt the school board itself from the responsibility of making its plan work is a real farce, because the choice plan that is now in the HEW guidelines actually places the responsibility on the Negro [child] and the Negro parent to effect a Federal law or a Federal guideline . . . It would be much better if the guidelines required that children in segregated areas would have to attend a certain school.

Then you would not be in a situation where the Negro parents could be victimized because they chose themselves to break with the status quo and incur the hostility of the white community from the standpoint of job-holding, income reprisals, and even bombs."

The credibility of the Federal Government is still regarded as in question. Many conferees asked if the government is going to take a firm position in holding to the guidelines, or *"yield as it did in Chicago."*

A national insurance program was suggested for *"adults who are put out of work because they enrolled their children in schools, or because they take a part in fulfilling their constitutional rights and for persons that are intimidated, harassed, and otherwise because of their civil rights activities."*

The firing of Negro teachers for racial reasons was also presented as a serious issue in many localities. Conferees objected to school boards discharging teachers who are graduates of non-accredited institutions without giving them a chance to gain the necessary qualifications.

The dilemma of the teacher who wants both to do a good job of teaching and to participate in winning constitutional rights came up many times.

"Although we teach, we are afraid of economic reprisals. We are also afraid that we will not be able to even touch those children that we have been able to touch, to get into them some of the knowledge that you have now. And we can't do that when we are fired."

It was suggested that the government appoint representatives to umpire such teachers' cases, *"to determine immediately the issue between the school board and the teacher rather than letting the litigation work its tortuous way up to the Supreme Court and meanwhile the teacher loses two or three years."*

In spite of these discouragements and the feeling that improving the Negro schools was the least difficult way to make progress, there was applause and approval for those who expressed a determination to make integration work:

"That is the only thing that is going to do away with segregation in Mississippi, to let the young ones grow up playing, eating and studying together, because the adults, where segregation is soaked into their bones, into their hearts and in their minds, they have to die to get it out."

III. QUALITY EDUCATION

Not all of the conferees were in agreement that the same emphasis and expenditures should be applied to integration as to the achievement of quality education. This was one of the main issues of the education discussions.

Some felt that emphasis on quality would produce desegregation in time, a point that was made several times with respect to the Negro colleges. Some expressed the opinion that whites flee the cities not so much because of integration as because of inferior schools, and that if the inner city schools were improved the prospects for successful integration would be greatly enhanced.

Others felt that integration was not necessarily a priority goal, but that the main task before the nation is to give minority children the skills they need to become economically independent and thus free and mobile members of society. They held that this is a Federal as well as local responsibility and that we need a national commitment to insure that quality education is available to every child regardless of race or the degree of integration in the school.

Some conferees, chiefly from the South, described the penalties imposed on their children in newly integrated schools, ranging from psychological strain to physical danger. Some of these parents would prefer to see the Negro schools improved rather than subject their children to such harassment. In contrast, however, there was a substantial feeling, as expressed by one discussion panel, that there should *"be no distinction between quality education and integrated education in view of the fact that integration is a necessary component of 'quality' education."*

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

Conferees strongly supported the Council's recommendations on the need for more kindergarten and pre-school programs for development of better materials, curricula, and class rooms for rural schools, and for a closer relationship between the school and the community in cooperative undertakings. They agreed that more flexible hours or seasons of schooling would enable students to combine study and employment more satisfactorily and eliminate the flooding of the job market over the summer. Another proposal called for Federal aid in the provision of supplementary services—by social workers, health workers, child guidance specialists, and others—*"to help implement the learning skills of the public school child."*

But on the whole, participants seemed to feel that the more technical solutions to curriculum and schedule innovations should come from the professional educators, and they concentrated instead on the areas of major concern discussed in the following sections.

TEACHER EDUCATION

The committee discussions fully supported the Council's recommendation that there be critical and widespread changes in the training and clinical experiences of teachers. They agreed that the existing conventional programs of teacher education are wholly inadequate to train teachers for integrated classes or classes of students from varying cultural backgrounds. They stressed that courses and practice teaching should be directed to a better understanding of the environment of minority groups, of the teacher's own attitudes toward those groups and toward his students.

"We have just a little bit of integration in our school but we have a lot of harassment from our white teachers on those Negro students. If the teachers are going to join in with the white students in picking on the little Negro children this is bad, and we think this is something that ought to go into the records."

Courses in teacher education schools in the ethnic background, culture, and history of minority groups, as well as courses dealing with the personal attitude of the teacher, were recommended. More in-service training programs for teachers to familiarize them with methods of handling newly integrated school situations were also called for, as were supplementary materials to compensate for the inadequacies of textbooks in this area.

There was some criticism of the hold-up in the House Appropriations Committee of funds which would have made more Federally-financed training institutes possible.

The quality of teachers in the inner-city areas was recognized as perhaps the most important element in educational opportunity. Both by those who were concerned uniquely about the quality of ghetto schools and by those who spoke to the need for attracting white families in order to keep the cities integrated, it was seen as an important issue.

"You build good schools and put sound teachers in them, . . . and I don't mean check-receivers, I mean teachers . . . and there will not be the massive flight of whites from the community, because if I were a white person, I tell you the truth that I would not want my child to go to some of these schools, because as a Negro person I don't want my child in them."

Considerable controversy developed, however, as to the best means of getting the ablest teachers into the schools traditionally considered difficult. Some suggested incentive pay, maintaining that it is harder to teach in the inner cities and the extra effort ought to be rewarded. To accomplish this, some suggested that districts develop differential pay scales, others that the Federal Government provide subsidies for teachers who are willing to go into the slums.

Many conferees expressed an opposite view, however:

"I would like to oppose this recommendation. I think if we want to develop a cadre of educational mercenaries and further stigmatize the children who live in the ghetto, this is a perfect way of doing it. I remember the so-called incentive pay that was provided for teachers in double shift schools, which, of course, were all in the Negro ghetto. Unfortunately many teachers who opt for double shift schools did so because of financial inducements. This did not create better education. It may have created more affluent teachers."

Other proposals for retaining the best teachers in the ghetto schools included keeping superior teachers out of administrative jobs and making special scholarships available to students who wish to prepare themselves to teach in the ghettos. The majority of the conferees felt that the central problem lies in training and that Federally-funded courses would be necessary for preservice and in-service courses. There was wide support for the promise of the National Teacher Corps, and many expressions that Congress should fund this program adequately and promptly.

An additional concern of some conferees, not mentioned in the Council's Report, was the need to attract more male teachers into the school systems.

Related to the training of teachers was the issue of using volunteers more effectively in the schools. While conferees agreed that this could be useful, there was much criticism of the use of neighborhood and parent volunteers.

"People in poor communities have always been hung up on the fact that everybody wants them to volunteer for things. I think that in the report the areas of work needed could have been defined in terms of new careers in education and ancillary kinds of services needed in the educational process, to provide the opportunity for many people to get into the educational field."

NEW LEARNING MATERIALS

Each of the twelve committees discussed the need for new learning materials and curricula in the schools, related to changing people's attitudes about the Negro and the Negro's image of himself. Materials used today often cause problems for the minority child, alienate him from other children, rob him of his American heritage, and degrade him. They should rather reflect the Negro's contribution to American culture and his participation in jobs that range from technicians to professionals.

"The Negro people have no image of themselves as being decent, respected people and equal to anyone else."

The participants supported the Council's recommendation that new materials should deal with Negro contributions to America's development, be geared to the needs of children from varying backgrounds, and be sensitive to new developments in technology as well as in the social sciences. They also expressed concern about the use of textbooks that further prejudice and discriminate, especially in the South.

In many states there are still two separate lists of textbooks for Negro schools and white schools. Typically, the textbooks make no reference to Negro individuals and their participation in American society in other than subservient roles. It was proposed that, since Federal funds are used to enlarge library resources, these discriminatory practices should be covered by Title VI and challenged by national authority.

"I know that the question of curriculum and text books is a hot potato on the matter of the Federal Government's censorship in control of these text books, but something must be done to break up the vicious propaganda mill that does exist in the southland to promote inferior concepts about the Negro."

One conferee pointed out that when Negro children transfer to white schools in one deep South state they *"have to turn these books back that were marked for colored and purchase the books that were marked white."*

An additional problem is the high cost of textbooks, which must be borne by the students even in the poorest counties. One participant spoke of an extra charge of $10.00 a year in elementary school and $35.00 a year in high school in a county where half the Negro families earn less than $2,000 a year. The county does not provide free books, or even a rental system to reduce the cost to students.

"It is not surprising," he said, *"that many Negro students, as well as whites, attend school without any or only a few books."*

Another conferee recommended that OEO adopt a program which would provide $25.00 worth of books to poverty homes where children are required to purchase their own, or where they are required to use segregated textbooks.

SCHOOL FOOD PROGRAMS

The discussions of school lunch program amplified on the recommendations in the Council's Report. It was charged that discrimination in the administration of these programs is common. Some pointed out that the program of hot lunches is too expensive for the really poor schools, and that only schools which have some affluent children can afford to provide free lunches. Others observed that a Negro parent who could not pay for the hot lunches furnished in the white schools in the deep South had one more reason not to try to transfer his children into that school. Still others criticized the difference in the menus provided in the Negro and white schools in the South.

All agreed on the need for a more uniform method of providing lunches which could not be used to discriminate against poor or Negro children. The use of Title I funds to provide regular lunches was suggested, and some were in favor of providing breakfast in this way as well. There were some expressions that in urban areas the school lunch program needs to be widely expanded.

TESTING

A subject of discussion not mentioned in the Council's Report was the discriminatory effect of current school testing procedures. Most conferees accepted the need for some kind of testing to evaluate students, but were concerned about tests which result in *"Negro children being automatically placed in slow learner categories."* The problem persists up to the college level, where *"entrance exams cause problems for students from disadvantaged schools, so we are widening the disparity at the higher education level. Something must be done to get to a clearly objective standard for admission, without at the same time lowering the overall standards."*

The selective service examination was also severely criticized as discriminating against the educationally deprived youth.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Several major problems were stressed in regard to vocational training, the first being that much current instruction is irrelevant to real job opportunities.

"[*Our city*] *has a growing industrial situation. We are not furnishing the types of people for this that fit into the economic security programs. We have not had enough vocational education and we have not trained our young people. We are unable to furnish the necessary skills and craftsmen for these trades."*

"We have many programs now . . . that are so outdated that when these children finish the course they still can't get a job. They are training them for something they are not even using today."

There was broad agreement that schools need to coordinate their vocational training program with the businesses and industries in the community that offer job opportunities, by organizing local businessmen and industrial employment specialists to advise school systems, students, and guidance counselors.

A second problem is *discrimination in* vocational education, particularly in apprenticeships.

"In our town the unions have an apprenticeship program that is being funded by the government and yet Negroes are not permitted to go into the unions."

"Our programs are intended to educate white and white only. The major apprentice programs don't include more than half a dozen Negroes."

Discrimination was reported in vocational guidance as well:

"The Federal Government now issues certain announcements. To a Negro high school, the graduating class, they issued the announcements for janitor, while to the other schools they gave applications for jobs, summer work, and work within the Federal system in the particular area."

Perhaps the greatest frustration in making vocational education effective was felt to be poor guidance. Many of the conferees viewed as a major shortcoming of vocational guidance in the high schools its tendency to point students away from higher education.

Participants advocated a comprehensive

revision of the structure beginning in the junior high school, including additional and better trained guidance counselors, who can interpret to minority children opportunities in financial aid, in choices of employment, and in opportunities for higher education—and the relevance of high school eduaction to all of these. Basic to this was the feeling that better secondary school curriculum would in itself attract and stimulate students, and that better teachers in all areas would raise the sights of students.

"Kids are smarter by having dropped out than by having stayed through an educational system which does not prepare them."

"The courses given to them now are lowly ones . . . they feel that children would only be able to work in labor courses, just the mechanical labor, instead of giving them courses that will prepare them for colleges."

Here again the question of teacher expectations is crucial. It was observed that the attitudes of guidance counselors, like those of teachers, have to be improved so that they do not think automatically of Negro students in stereotypes instead of in terms of individual aptitudes. Guidance counselors need the same kind of courses in the history and contribution of minorities and the same background in behavioral and social sciences as are recommended for teachers. Conferees pointed out that this training is as necessary for Negro guidance counselors as for white, since many of them are so removed from the economic circumstances of their students that they do not recognize the aspirations or motivational problems of students.

"Many of our own blacks look down on our children in the poor communities. They accept the youngsters from the housing project because they apparently have a steady income and they dress a little better."

Once again the question of relating school programs to the community came up frequently. Conferees recommended the use of community advisory panels to discuss with students the range of technical and professional jobs available, and to relate the need to complete their education to the possibilities for employment. They suggested career conferences using resources from the community, especially representatives of minority groups and persons without advanced degrees. They suggested *"career clubs"* for a semester at a time, in which students could study and then participate in junior jobs, where possible on a paying basis, to experience wider opportunities and see the need for more education to achieve a visible goal.

This last suggestion was echoed in a variety of ways in reports that, even given adequate training, students could not get decent jobs because of their lack of experience. It was suggested that students while in school be assisted to *"actually get a job in some industry in the neighborhood where he is living so that he could demonstrate his ability to do the job. I think it would tend to breakdown the resistance."*

Additional suggestions were made to involve the parents more closely in discussions of vocational guidance, to make them aware both of the school program and the opportunities in the community.

HIGHER EDUCATION

As in the discussion of vocational guidance, a large part of the discussion of higher education focused on ways to expose Negro students to the opportunities even now available to them, to the financial aids they can take advantage of, and to the tutorial help which will enable them to acquire the tools which inferior schools do not provide. Evidence was put into the record of the successes of students from inadequate schools, regardless of their academic records in the past, when given reasonable attention and specialized teaching.

The discussions emphasized the Federal programs that now demonstrate how effective extra-curricular programs can be. The Upward Bound program was frequently cited as one of the most imaginative and successful programs in this area, and many conferees called attention to examples all over the country of ways in which *"dropouts"* have been stimulated to try for college and have done well, such as Project Discovery in New York. Resource consultants called attention to the new Federal program under Section 408 of the Higher Education Act, which contracts with organizations to spread knowledge of such programs and informs students about college possibilities.

There was widespread agreement that funds for special tutorial programs should be increased. Some of the participants felt that they were most effective when run outside of the normal school structure, and suggested that action groups such as the civil rights organizations be funded for such purposes *"because the kids have faith in them."* The programs need to be related to people *"who have the ear of the common people who need an educational program outside of the system that has already failed to produce."*

In addition, some conferees called attention to the effectiveness of programs in which students in one grade tutor students in a lower grade. Others recommended summer programs which would include whole families in study and recreation camps for people who *"never get out of these ghettos even to the edge of town—for both students and parents, covering home management, job application, reading, and everything."*

It was emphasized often that these programs should not be tied to the grades students have been making, as it has been adequately demonstrated that even the least productive students in a conventional system can show unexpected development.

One of the continuing problems seems to be the restriction of special help to students who meet the standard means test, and there was much comment in favor of raising the eligibility levels to include families of somewhat higher incomes. This was held to be necessary not only for community action programs, but for participation in work-study grants and in Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs. Some conferees expressed their discouragement over the fact that schools and community programs are not adequately funded even to provide special services for the children whose family incomes are less than $2,000, and called for recognition of the amount of money and commitment the necessary increase would entail. Conferees also called for better community centers of information about such help as is available.

The central problem in achieving more opportunities for higher education for Negroes, then, was seen by most of the conferees as one of making high school students aware of opportunities through better guidance programs, broadening new types of tutorial programs (both within and outside traditional school structures) which can compensate for deficient schooling, and increasing knowledge about resources for financial aid programs.

ADULT EDUCATION

The Council's recommendations on adult education were frequently criticized as insufficient. Conferees proposed the expansion of existing programs provided by the Economic Opportunity Act and the Higher Education Act, and urged support of the Hart Bill in the Senate and the Basic Education Act of 1966 to expand and enlarge this effort.

Some suggested further that adult education programs be strengthened by the provision of subsidies for those participating, on the model of the STAR program funded by OEO in Mississippi. Others spoke to the need for better consumer education at the adult level. Others were concerned that adult vocational schools be formed in rural areas, where people have little opportunity to overcome illiteracy and become economically self-sustaining.

NEGRO COLLEGES

There was some disagreement over the sense of the recommendations regarding Negro colleges and whether or not the preservation of their segregated status should be made an issue.

Some confusion over the development of Title III programs for developing institutions was also expressed; information about this program is only beginning to be known. Questions were raised about the problem of non-accredited colleges which need a statement from a regional agency that they are making *"reasonable progress"* toward accreditation; conferees in several discussions stated that these agencies are unable or unwilling to make such a guarantee, and this prevents the developing institution from closing the gap.

Some conferees advocated that the smaller institutions, especially Negro colleges, should gain a fair share of government research and other contracts, and thus develop their capabilities to serve their communities. They criticized the concentration of research grants in a few major institutions. Resource persons present suggested that such colleges form consortiums to strengthen their ability to carry out research projects, and apply to national organizations such as the National Council of University Research Administrations, which provides its members with information on how to raise funds.

HOUSING—

COUNCIL'S REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

It has been more than thirty years since the American people first expressed national commitment to provide housing, in the form of the National Housing Act. Seventeen years have passed since the Congress gave added purpose to that commitment in the bold pledge: "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."

For millions of Americans, these noble assertions have meant good homes in pleasant surroundings. For a generation of Negroes, however, that commitment has proved empty and that pledge remains unredeemed. For 15 million of these Americans—because of their race—congested slums have constituted their homes and ghettoed isolation has been their environment. In housing, as elsewhere, there have been and continue to be two Americas.

In the decade of the '60's, we have begun to realize the terrible cost of racial isolation. We have begun to hear from the long-silent "other Americans." They are speaking in justifiable anger, and in terms of urgent protest against the unbreakable barriers of confinement and exclusion that they continue to face.

Housing policy—both governmental and private—has traditionally ignored the needs of the nonwhite and the economically disadvantaged. The economics of the housing industry are such that only the upper half of the income spectrum is served by the new housing supply. The new product comes in massive aggregations located for the most part in the suburbs or in central city renewal areas. The practices of the market are such that both the new and the used supply is marketed to one racial group or the other, but rarely to both in the same neighborhoods or subdivisions.

In many of the larger metropolian areas, as much as two-thirds of the total white population and often more than three-fourths of the school age white population live outside the central city in suburban towns, villages, and townships. State governments have clothed these suburban jurisdictions with the power to zone the use of the land and to control the issuance of building permits in such a manner that only housing for the affluent can be built there. The use of extra-legal pressures upon builders and brokers to exclude even the affluent Negroes is common. These barriers discourage even those few private and non-profit entrepreneurs who are motivated to do what so much of the industry does not attempt to do.

The consumer public has become thoroughly conditioned to the established patterns and practices of the housing market. Whites respond without thought to the sales promotion of the industry and are easily frightened into believing that their economic and physical security are dependent upon isolation from Negroes. Negroes have been so conditioned to exclusion that few are motivated to challenge the barriers even when such a challenge is supported by law.

While few city governments have sought to promote desegregation, many have attempted to improve slum housing conditions through urban renewal, code enforcement, and public housing. In the absence of a supply of housing for low and moderate income families, however, and because of the Negroes' lack of mobility, most attempts to improve decaying neighborhoods have failed dismally.

Federal housing policy, until recently, was geared almost exclusively to a market of middle class families who desired to live in the suburbs. This was, and remains, a market from which Negroes and the poor are virtually excluded. For many years, the only program aimed at their housing needs was low-rent public housing. After nearly thirty years, however, that program has accounted for only one percent of the nation's housing inventory. Moreover, public housing has been confined largely to the central city, and within that to the ghettos.

In more recent years, the Government has undertaken a number of other programs intended to serve the needs of the disadvantaged. All have suffered from the disabilities of inadequate volume and the absence of provision for attacking the still inviolate "white noose" of the suburbs.

The consequences of the slums and ghettos and the barriers to freedom of choice in housing loom large. Millions of houses are required for low and moderate income families who presently have no choice but to live in filth and misery and degradation. Fair practice laws, affirmative action programs, massive building and rehabilitation programs, and perhaps billions in housing assistance will be needed to enable them, as well as those who have the financial means, to live in decent housing in suitable environments. The dimensions of this program are staggering—but they are no larger than America's space ventures, the demands for defense, or the tremendous growth of the national economy. Americans are conditioned to thinking big. They can think big enough to cope with this problem as well.

In general terms, the nation's goal in housing might be a broadening of the 1949 commitment, as follows:

"A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, freedom of choice in the selection of a home, racial and economic inclusiveness in all neighborhoods and the total absence of racial barriers."

In more specific terms a series of goals might be set forth:

1. *Freedom of choice*—an absolutely open, racially unrestricted market in which housing is affirmatively merchandised to families and persons of all racial groups.
2. *An adequate and expanding supply of new housing for low and moderate income families*—widely dispersed throughout each metropolitan area.
3. *Racially inclusive suburban communities and new towns.*
4. *Revitalization and integration of the existing ghetto areas.*

I. FREEDOM OF CHOICE: THE OPEN MARKET

Our concern here is to assure fully open access to whatever housing exists and is on the market or is to be built. To achieve this there must be a combination of voluntary commitment by word and deed by large numbers of citizens, fair practice laws both Federal and state, and firm policies on the part of the Federal Government. The existing patterns of segregation took shape under the guiding hand of local governments and Federal housing agencies. It is now necessary for government to take equally strong measures to foster desegregation.

Seventeen states and some 36 cities have fair housing laws on their books now. Executive Order 11063 requires that agreements for Federally assisted housing made after November 20, 1962, must be covered by enforceable pledges not to discriminate. Those preceding that date are subject to the use of the Government's good offices and other appropriate action permitted by law. All publicly aided housing (except that assisted by FHA and VA) is subject to the anti-discrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

While these laws represent basic first steps, they have failed to serve their intended purpose on several scores. One major weakness is that most of the housing supply is *not* affected. That which *is* affected is held to be at a competitive disadvantage, causing most enforcement bodies to be soft in administration. More serious is the fact that no affirmative action is required of sellers, brokers, etc., and no performance standards are established. While a seller or agent is prohibited from refusing to sell or rent because of race, he is not required to seek out the patronage of the nonwhite market and can evade compliance with impunity. Compliance rests heavily upon complaint procedures, thus placing the principal burden for enforcement upon the victim of discrimination.

The policy and responsibility of the Department of Housing and Urban Development need to be strengthened. While Executive Order 11063 establishes the policy of equal opportunity in Federally assisted housing, too little is required in the way of affirmative measures to implement the policy or to promote desegregation. Here also there is too much reliance upon complaints by the victims.

The Administration's proposed Federal fair housing measure now before Congress would mark an important step forward. The comprehensive coverage provided in the bill would be a tremendous improvement over the partial coverages characteristic of so many state laws. However, the total reliance on litigation and the absence of administrative enforcement machinery, which would be more expeditious and effective, is regrettable; that portion of the bill needs strengthening. Finally, it must always be borne in mind that effective laws are not possible in the first place, nor are they likely to be effective, unless there are large numbers of citizens, white and nonwhite alike, positively committed in principle and in deed to the goals of an open society.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FEDERAL ACTION

1. The Administration should adopt a firm and vigorous policy to utilize all the programs and resources of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and other agencies to promote and implement equal opportunity and desegregation. A Presidential directive to all Federal agencies to cooperate with the Department of Housing and Urban Development in planning for wider housing opportunities for minority group families, and establishing appropriate criteria for awarding contracts, loans, and grants is strongly urged.

2. Enforcement under the Executive Order and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 must be more affirmative and vigorous. Clear and affirmative guidelines for field offices of the appropriate Federal agencies and frequent checks on their procedures are required if equal housing opportunity is to be a fact. Demonstrations of affirmative action to desegregate should be required by recipients of Federal funds and assistance. Federal assistance within the scope of Title VI should flow only to communities in which freedom of choice to secure a home is written into law.

3. A comprehensive Federal anti-discrimination law as broad as the Constitution permits, covering all housing transactions whether or not Federally assisted, is urgently recommended. The Administration's Federal fair housing bill is strongly endorsed and its broad coverage is applauded. However, it needs to be greatly strengthened in its enforcement provisions. Remedies should include civil litigation, cease and desist orders, administrative penalties and, when applicable, termination of assistance from the Federal Government. Enforcement responsibility should rest with an administrative agency with the authority and obligation to require compliance reports and to conduct field checks. Those parts of the housing industry benefiting from government mortgage insurance and guarantees should be required to demonstrate that they are merchandising and otherwise encouraging the rental and sale of housing to the Negro consumer in integrated settings. Housing provided through direct and indirect government subsidy—such as urban renewal, public housing, rent supplements, and below market interest rate programs—should be conditioned on a showing that sponsors, sites, and merchandising plans are designed to achieve integrated occupancy. The primary enforcement device applicable to Federally assisted housing should be the termination of funds and other benefits now and in the future to the enterprises and units of government found in violation of the law.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STATE ACTION

1. State licensing authorities should require that all licensed brokers, builders, etc., show that they are serving the entire public without distinction as to race as a condition of the issuance or reissuance of the license.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PRIVATE HOUSING INDUSTRY

The term "housing industry" as used here applies to the entire private sector of the housing market, including finance, construction, real estate brokers and agents, managers and the various trade associations.

1. The National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), the National Home Builders Association, the several banking and saving and loan associations, and insurance companies engaged in housing finance, are urged to adopt and prominently publish policy statements advocating equal opportunity in housing guaranteed by law. The national housing and home finance organizations should institute programs directed to their local associations explaining the laws on fair housing and urging local participation in community programs of open occupancy.

2. Officials of the trade associations are urged to enter into intensive dialog with leaders of civil rights and fair housing groups, community action committees, and the like for the purpose of developing and conducting effective fair housing programs. While dialog at the national level is important, it is not enough. It should also be carried on at the state, metropolitan, and neighborhood level.

3. Mortgage lending institutions, real estate brokerage firms, and housing developers are urged to recruit and employ Negro and other minority men and women and to train them for the more responsible technical and professional functions—so that Negroes will be represented more fully throughout the real estate and home finance field.

4. NAREB and all state and local real estate boards are urged to admit licensed real estate brokers of all races to membership and to extend to them all privileges of membership, including access to cooperative listings. All other racial barriers to free participation in the market over which real estate boards have control should be eliminated.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CITIZEN ACTION

1. Individual citizens and civic, religious, civil rights, and political groups are urged to join with or to create state and national groups in support of national, state, and local fair housing laws of the type described above. Such legislation is likely to be adopted only after a groundswell of citizen concern and support has been registered.

2. Fair housing councils or their equivalent should be organized in every urban area. Full time staff is essential. Foundation funding is urgently needed. While it is important that such councils be privately organized and managed, ways should be found to permit government funding on a matching basis wherever the activities are of merit. These groups should:

a. Foster community action and guidance programs designed to encourage Negroes to seek homes in the general market;

b. Consistently test the market, filing compressure on enforcement agencies for affirmative administration of fair housing laws, orders, and regulations;

c. Serve as "watch dogs" with respect to publicly aided programs, to assure that urban renewal and public housing programs are planned and managed so as to increase housing opportunities and promote desegregation. Particular attention should be given to relocation caused by public action and to site selection for public housing.

3. Housing information and service centers sponsored by local fair housing councils, community action committees, civil rights, civic and religious groups, real estate boards

and home builders associations should be established at convenient locations in each urban area. While the centers should be under non-governmental direction, funds for their operation should be available from government sources. The function of each such center would be to:

a. Prepare and train community action, civil rights, and other civic leaders to lead and conduct community action programs to improve housing conditions. The development of extensive understanding of the intricacies of the housing market and of the potential value of laws, regulations, and government aids would be included in the training;

b. Assist nonwhite families in finding homes in the general market, outside the ghetto, within their means and at fair rents or sales prices, to obtain proper financing, etc.;

c. Assist nonwhites who are refused housing because of race to file complaints with the appropriate authorities;

d. Assist low and moderate income families to improve their housing conditions as much as their finances and the existing supply will permit;

e. Prepare those living in exclusively white and/or affluent neighborhoods to accept the necessity of a more inclusive mix, racially and economically, in all neighborhoods.

II. HOUSING SUPPLY FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES

If segregated patterns are to be eliminated, if there is to be freedom of choice and mobility for Negroes, if overcrowding in present ghetto areas is to be at least partially relieved so rebuilding can begin, if schools are to be integrated, and if Negroes are to have the freedom to live in proximity to job opportunities—then there must be a vast addition to the supply of housing priced within the reach of low and moderate income families well distributed throughout each metropolitan region. The private housing industry is not meeting this need for either low or moderate income families.

More than one million new houses per year are required to take care of the housing needs of the expanding population. To replace existing stock at the rate of just one percent annually (requiring an average life per house of 100 years) would require another half million houses. In addition, there are more than 10 million substandard houses in stock now and millions of others are too old or in too poor condition to last until they are replaced at the prevailing annual rate of one or two percent. A production rate of two million units annually is a conservative estimate of requirements. The present rate of production is only about 1.4 million, and practically all of this new stock is priced beyond the reach of families below the median income level. At least half, preferably more, of the new stock should be made available to low and moderate income families.

It is not our function to comment upon the economy as a whole. We do know that as far as the production of housing in the lower cost brackets is concerned the economy has been in paralysis for years. At present it is being strangled to death. Even if it must be done at the expense of other parts of the economy, it is imperative that vast amounts of credit for the production of lower cost housing be made available immediately. Now, when the housing industry needs priming, is a particularly propitious time to offer credit incentives for builders to supply housing for low and moderate income families.

There are countless barriers in the way of large volume housing production for lower income consumers. Hydra-headed systems of suburban local government arbitrarily and capriciously control the use of land. Both land and credit for housing are scarce and costly. The organization of the industry is chaotic and production processes are a hundred years behind modern technology. The industry as a whole and the building trades in particular are strongly resistant to change. All of these factors stand in the way of reducing costs. The housing industry needs to be modernized. New systems of land assembly, less expensive methods of processing housing finance, the streamlining and standardizing of building codes, more efficient production methods and utilization of labor will be necessary if housing costs are to be brought down. This is likely to occur only if the Federal Government provides leadership and invests as extensively in promoting research and development in housing as it has, for example, in agriculture.

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE—RENT SUPPLEMENTS

However, it will take a long time before an industrial revolution in housing has been achieved to the point that low income families will benefit from reduced costs. In the meantime, various forms of monetary assistance will help to bridge the gap. The cost would run into the billions but would amount to less than the terrible costs of maintaining and extending today's slums and ghettos.

There are several forms which such assistance may take. Public housing is one—but in its traditional form it has been found wanting, and its rate of construction has been far too low in recent years. Fortunately, there have been some recent shifts in emphasis away from the large projects which concentrate great numbers of the poorest people in otherwise poor neighborhoods, to small scattered sites and to the purchase or lease of existing properties.

Second is the below market interest rate program—221(d)(3). It has had some success in supplying new housing for families just below the middle income level but has not served those in the lower income levels.

Third is rent supplements. As originally planned by HHFA (now HUD) the rent supplement program was designed to fill the gap between the very low income ceilings set for public housing and the minimum incomes required for obtaining decent quality, privately financed housing. As drafted, in general, entrepreneurs could develop housing throughout a metropolitan region and rent a portion of the units to low income families under the supplement program.

The program as finally adopted in 1965 limits the supplements to individuals and families whose incomes are within the public housing eligibility limits, and who, *in addition,* are living either in substandard housing, or are 62 years of age or older, or have been or will be displaced by natural disaster or government action, or are physically handicapped. The Administration's request for $30,000,000 for the first full fiscal year has been cut to $20,000,000 by the House. Further, a rider has been attached which allows the use of supplements only in those jurisdictions having a local workable program or "local official approval for participation." This limitation serves to give a veto power to those local jurisdictions that wish to exclude low income and non-white families or to consign all rent supplement projects to the ghettos.

How significant is this level of funding? There are about 13,000,000 American families with incomes under $4,000 per year. Eight million of them live in urban areas. Altogether at least ten million families live in substandard housing. Slightly less than six million families in the United States have incomes under $2,000 per year; half are in urban areas. If supplements were to average $600 per year per assisted family, two billion dollars would cover about three and one-third million families. Four billion would be required to assist just those families with incomes under $3,000. An additional six billion would be necessary to enable families above the poverty line who live in substandard housing to move into decent housing.

What would happen to the economy if this much additional money were poured into housing annually? Would rents and prices simply become inflated thus defeating our purpose? Where should the line be drawn between supplements and no supplements Are there cheaper ways of doing this job (e.g., *giving* low income families housing without cost providing they care for it—in the manner that the United States gave land to homesteaders)?

These are matters for economists and experts to discuss at another time. What we should understand here is that if the rent supplement program is to have significant impact it will have to be vastly expanded.

This is not to say, by any means, that rent supplements alone will do all that is necessary to increase the supply for low and moderate income families. There is much merit in proposals that would make subsidized home ownership possible for millions of such families and that argue for various partnership arrangements between government, industry, voluntary, non-profit groups and low income families—brought together under a subsidy program—as by far the quickest and surest point of departure.

While one approach to getting a quantity of low and moderate income housing on the market is to provide incentives to private enterprise through subsidies, easy credit, and the like, the current trend is to provide encouragement to non-profit sponsors and cooperatives. There should be further exploration of ways to do the job through both private enterprise and non-profit groups.

RURAL HOUSING

Housing for low income families in rural areas is in even more deplorable condition than that in the cities. Poor Negroes on farms and in the small towns of the South are in special need of housing assistance. However, the problem there is seriously aggravated by the declining demands for manpower in rural areas. Obviously, a decent home will not solve the problems of unemployment, lack of education and training, and the resulting sense of hopelessness. Action is needed in all these areas.

New programs are being developed by the Federal Government: A Cabinet-level Rural Development Committee with a Rural Community Development Service, a Rural Area Development Program, and a Rural Renewal Program. The Cabinet Committee also has authority to coordinate the activities of the Farmers Home Administration. Thus new resources are being made available to improve rural communities as well as urban areas. Other special programs are also under way—the Public Works and Economic Development Act and the Appalachia Program—which are directed to improving rural life.

For the potentially employable of the rural South the problem is compounded by the need to locate the housing where there are economic opportunities. The houses must follow the jobs.

However, steps can be taken immediately to provide housing for at least two groups:

1. *The rural elderly.* These are retired farmers and farm hands and others who are too old to migrate in search of new opportunities, and for whom there are no new opportunities in their own communities.

The Farmers Home Administration provides for financing homes for those who have debt-paying capability. The payments are modest and many manage to qualify through their retirement incomes. However, those who do not so qualify are offered no alternatives. While there is authority in law for rural public housing, the creation of local authorities, often by local referenda, is now required. Most southern rural communities have been unwilling to go through this process.

2. *A second group consists of migrant agricultural labor.* The housing accommodations generally provided for migrant labor are a national disgrace. The Farmers Home Administration is authorized to lend up to 100 percent of cost to employers or employer associations at competitive rates of interest for the construction of suitable housing, but few employers have been willing to obligate themselves. Also, the Farmers Home Administration is authorized to issue grants equal to 75 percent of cost and to lend the balance to broadly based cooperatives or associations for housing for farm labor. Again, few associations have taken the initiative or have been newly formed to provide the housing.

In both cases, direct Federal action is needed.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FEDERAL ACTION

1. Federal legislation designed to increase the rate of production of new houses to 2,000,000 units per year is urged. Half of such units should be reserved for moderate and low income families. (The present rate of production is about 1.4 million, practically none of which is for families below the middle income level.) State governments should supplement Federal and local programs for increasing the supply of low and moderate income housing.

2. The rent supplement bill as submitted to Congress in 1965 is strongly endorsed as a model until a more comprehensive program can be devised. The amendment to allow local government jurisdictions to veto rent supplement projects should be eliminated; and the program should be broadened to include those whose incomes are above the public housing level but below what is required for standard private housing. An initial funding on a vastly larger scale is needed. Eventual funding of this and other programs to whatever level is necessary to provide a decent house for every family is recommended.

3. The Department of Housing and Urban Development should request funds necessary for a vastly enlarged program of research and development in housing and urban environment. The urban environment is of such critical importance today that research in the field should equal or sur-

pass all that is being done in such areas as the physical sciences and the aerospace program. Among the many concerns of such a program would be the perfection of more efficient and less expensive means of land assembly, comprehensive planning for land use, and the production of adequate housing for all income levels.

4. Consultation of experts on all aspects of community development and housing should be called to analyze the needs and to specify in technical detail the requirements for the production of an adequate supply of housing for low and moderate income families, and the desegregation of the cities along the general lines recommended in this chapter. Producing the necessary volume of houses for low and moderate income families will require the knowledge and experience of learned economists, financiers, industry and labor representatives, and marketing analysts.

5. FHA 221(d)(3) below-market interest program, which benefits moderate income families, requires greatly increased authorizations and, in addition, should be extended to enable this group not merely to rent but to purchase homes.

6. The Federal Government should provide technical assistance to non-profit groups interested in sponsoring FHA 221(d)(3) projects and help them cope with problems of finance, land acquisition, incorporation, etc. Specific aid is needed to acquire land in areas hostile to the inclusion of Negroes and lower income families. FHA building requirements should be revised to result in decreased costs and lower rents under this program.

7. The authorization of Federally chartered rural housing development corporations to build homes in rural areas for either the elderly or for agricultural labor, migrant or otherwise, is urged. The corporations should be authorized to sell, transfer, or lease the homes directly to the families or to local non-profit sponsors for whatever price or rent the occupants can afford. Provision should be made for annual Federal grants to make up the difference between what the families are able to pay and the actual cost.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CITIZEN ACTION

1. Civic, fraternal, religious organizations and groups of individuals are urged to organize non-profit corporations and cooperatives for the purpose of raising capital and serving as the developers, owners, and operators of housing developments for moderate and low income families, taking advantage of such Federal aids as Sec. 213 (Cooperatives), 221(d)(3) (below market interest) and rent supplement programs mostly under the 221(d)(3) market interest rate program.

2. Civic, religious, farm labor, and employer groups in rural areas are urged to accept the responsibility for providing local sponsorship for housing for migrant and other agricultural labor in rural areas. Far more than the provision of physical shelter is needed. There must be provision for education of the children, the development of a sense of community, acceptance in the churches, and the provision of adequate health and welfare services.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PRIVATE HOUSING INDUSTRY

1. A housing industry program, patterned after the Plans for Progress program in employment, in which the national trade associations, major home financing institutions, representatives of local trade associations, etc., pledge to promote housing development for moderate and low income

families on a racially inclusive basis throughout metropolitan areas, should be launched under the leadership of the President.

2. Men and women with experience in home finance, construction, and real estate marketing are urged to serve on the boards of fair housing committees, non-profit housing corporations, and cooperatives to provide guidance to such groups.

III. SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES AND NEW TOWNS

Following World War II, a tremendous volume of home building took place in the suburbs where ample land was available at reasonable cost. This was the beginning of the white exodus from the central cities—from older housing to new homes in new communities.

Those few Negroes who could afford suburban houses were barred because of their color. Except for the small number of units built for Negroes in Negro subdivisions—fewer than one percent of all new housing—opportunities were limited to the hand-me-down housing vacated by white families who moved to the suburbs. The pattern was rapidly and firmly established and persists today—new housing in the suburbs for white families with sufficient incomes, and old housing in the central city for Negroes regardless of their income.

The Federal Government bears a large share of the responsibility for this dual market. With FHA and VA assistance, racial segregation was extended, supported, an reinforced. Not until 1950 was the restrictive covenant prohibited in transactions involving Federal assistance. The Federal position then changed from one of adherence to racial homogeneity of neighborhoods, to one of neutrality. Today, the Federal Government requires nondiscrimination in assistance programs. This policy has made few inroads in the predominantly white suburbs; nor has it arrested the continued expansion of the segregation pattern.

To bring down the walls around the cities and to achieve communities and neighborhoods inclusive of all races and incomes will require a major redistribution of population between city and suburb, a restructuring of the relationship among the local governing units in the metropolitan area, and totally new approaches to planning and developing new communities as extensions or satellites of the central city.

There must be joint ventures by many responsible governing units to tackle the problems of both desegregation and increasing the supply of low and moderate income housing on a metropolitan area-wide basis. The greatest difficulty in achieving this unity of action will involve overcoming the parochial attitudes, based on false notions of race, housing, property values, and the like, which prevail in too many communities. The decision on whether or not local bodies will cooperate will rest, of course, with the citizens and residents. Support and pressure from housing and other civic groups are indispensible.

In addition, the Federal Government should condition assistance for community facilities and services such as roads, sewer and water systems, and school construction on the formulation and implementation of metropolitan area plans agreed upon and adhered to by all units of government operating within the area. Two requirements of such a plan should be that:

1. It furthers desegregation by race and income throughout the area.
2. It includes provision for low and moderate income housing commensurate with the needs of the area.

Liberal grants are needed for planning and for financing the development of community facilities, low and moderate income housing, and community services. Some encouragement from the Federal Government is in the offing. A beginning is the 1965 legislation establishing a new program of FHA mortgage insurance for privately financed land development. Up to $10 million per mortgage amount is allowed.

In order to qualify for this assistance, the development must be consistent with comprehensive planning to assure that the proposed developments will be compatible with other present and projected development of the surrounding area. Now pending in Congress is a slightly broadened proposal which deals with "new communities." A sizeable increase in the total mortgage amount insured will facilitate larger scale land development and a wider range of urban facilities and services. There is a specific requirement for housing for those who are employed in the community or the surrounding area.

The new legislation and proposed program demonstrates the growing demand for new housing and new communities for the expanding population. Unfortunately, there are no provisions for requiring the availability of housing for all races or for low income families. New communities should be considered as sources of housing for those so long excluded from new developments in areas outside of the central city. This objective should be positively stated and implemented in legislation pertaining to new communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FEDERAL ACTION

1. Federal assistance to every local governmental unit should be conditioned on the submission of a metropolitan-wide plan providing for the desegregation of housing and promotion of communities inclusive of all races and incomes. Zoning regulations, provision for low and moderate income housing, subdivision controls, and the like must be applied to this end. Enforcement mechanisms by the local government should be a requirement. The plan should indicate an overall program of housing, community facilities and services, and transportation to and from employment centers which would result in the free flow of residents to housing throughout the area without regard to color.

2. In areas in which local governing bodies are not meeting their responsibility to provide housing for all segments of the population, the nonwhite and the poor, the Federal Government should take direct action to provide the housing needed.

3. In locating, transferring or expanding governmental agencies, departments, and other operations, the Federal Government should require racial and income inclusiveness of the community. The Federal Government should also contract solely with employers located in communities which provide housing and other amenities for all races and income groups in all neighborhoods.

4. HUD should be empowered to purchase, lease, and sell land to assure that its development and occupancy, now and in the future, will provide housing, facilities and services for persons of all races and incomes. To assure that future housing needs will be met, undeveloped land should be "banked" by the Federal Government in accordance with projections on population expansion and area development.

5. The Federal Government should encourage, support, and assist private groups with financial incentive and technical guidance in the acquiring, assembling, and use of land for the purposes listed above.

6. Local public housing authorities should be enabled to function on a metropolitan basis.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STATE ACTION

1. State governments should either regulate the zoning activities of municipal and township governments, establish state land banks for housing purposes, or create district authorities to reserve land in all parts of each metropolitan area for housing for lower income families. In many metropolitan areas it is no longer possible to resolve the problems of poverty and race within the boundaries of each municipality. Metropolitan area-wide solutions are needed, and state governments have the responsibility and the constitutional power to provide them.

2. State governments should create housing development corporations comparable to the industrial development corporations which have come into common use in recent years. Such corporations or authorities should be authorized to purchase, assemble, hold and sell land, build housing developments, lease or sell such developments to private management companies, non-profit groups, and public housing authorities. Such corporations or authorities should have the power to acquire land in municipal jurisdictions which have used zoning and other legal or extra-legal means for excluding housing for low and moderate income families.

IV. REVITALIZING AND INTEGRATING THE GHETTO

While the term "ghetto" is often applied to any area that is predominantly or exclusively of one racial group, whether white or nonwhite, voluntary or otherwise, it is being used here in the narrower sense of "an involuntary ethnic slum."

The dream that the slums of America could be rebuilt, renewed, and revitalized has been a major objective of the nation's housing policy and program for many years. The term "slum clearance housing" was used almost synonymously with "low income public housing" in the 1930's. The assumption that the slums could be rebuilt through a combination of Federal, local, and private action has been the thesis of the urban renewal program since 1949.

REVITALIZATION

Thirty years of public housing experience and fifteen of urban renewal have taught us that the problems of the American slums are far too huge and complex to submit to the piecemeal, uncoordinated attacks of these separately conceived and administered programs. While some of the worst housing has been eliminated and some urban renewal developments are showcase exhibits, the slums and ghettos have grown larger, overcrowding has been intensified, and the alienation of the ghetto dweller has become a national crisis. Too often, public housing and urban renewal programs have aggravated rather than ameliorated the degree of segregation and congestion.

An open market, an ample supply of housing for low income families outside the ghetto, the intelligent planning and development of new areas on a racially inclusive basis are absolutely necessary preconditions to an effective attack upon the ghettos themselves. The ghetto areas need not be depopulated before work is begun, of course. Much of the work must be done with the people who are there and want to stay, for in many of the ghetto areas there are human and physical resources upon which to build, and cultural and ethnic ties of such value that they will give the neighborhood strength and stability. Elderly people may find the prospect of moving away frightening and traumatic. Neighborhood businessmen and institutional leaders might lose their source of livelihood and major interest in life if they were forced to move. Wherever possible, then, the rebuilding of the neighborhood should be an organic process like the development of a chrysalis within the shell of the old organism.

In some instances, it may be possible for owner-occupants to rehabilitate their properties without vacating them. Many properties may be suitable for reclamation but will go through a change of ownership and tenancy. New structures for accommodating those relocated from within the area, as well as new residents from outside, may be built progressively without subjecting the entire area to clearance.

Whatever is done, however, should so change the character of the area that it will be identified no longer as a slum or a ghetto.

A new physical design and new facilities for schools, recreational and cultural activities, open space, shopping and services will be essential. In addition, an organizational structure through which the residents and property owners can exercise a degree of local control over management of facilities and services will be necessary to cultivate and nurture the esprit that distinguishes the true neighborhood from a mere conglomeration of persons and structures.

The principle that the emerging neighborhood must be broadly inclusive of a range of incomes and racial and ethnic groups must be a conscious and controlling policy from the inception and continue indefinitely in the management of neighborhood affairs. Inasmuch as programs of this type normally will require governmental assistance, all grants and other forms of assistance should be conditioned upon this principle.

Thus far the principal programs intended to check blight and rebuild slum areas have been public housing, urban renewal, and housing code enforcement. Two new programs are now being advanced: rent supplements and the Demonstration Cities Program. Obviously the first three, operating separately, have not been successful. This is not to say that each would not be a useful and important tool in a comprehensive program. Rent supplements, if adequately funded and made applicable and functional throughout each metropolitan area, will have tremendous utility, as previously discussed.

THE DEMONSTRATION CITIES PROGRAM

It is now generally recognized that the renewal of slum areas requires a broad and comprehensive approach, such as that incorporated into the general framework of the proposed Demonstration Cities Program. To quote from President Johnson's message in recommending the program:

> "From the experience of three decades, it is clear to me that American cities require a program that will . . .

"Concentrate our available resources—in planning tools in housing construction, in job training, in health facilities, in recreation, in welfare programs, in education . . . to improve the conditions of life in urban areas.

"Join together all available talent and skills in a coordinated effort . . .

"Mobilize local leadership and private leadership, so that local citizens will determine the shape of their new city. . . ."

The thrust of the Demonstration Cities Program is to the slum and blighted areas of the central cities. Cities will be competing for a share of this program which is limited to a given number of cities "willing to face up to their responsibilities." To qualify, the city must submit a program which is large enough to remove blight and decay, substantially increase the supply of adequate housing for low and moderate income people, add to the social services for the disadvantaged residents, an make a substantial impact on the sound development of the entire city. In addition, provision for citizen participation and using of residents in the work of rebuilding are required.

Federal assistance will include the complete array of all existing urban aid programs and special supplemental grants to assist the cities to provide their share of the demonstration program under both existing Federal grant-in-aid programs and non-Federally assisted activities undertaken as part of the demonstration program. This assistance will be equal to 80 percent of the local or state share. Up to 90 percent will be available for planning and developing the program.

This proposal represents a giant step forward. It is not the first time that a broad and comprehensive approach to urban problems has been suggested, but it is the first time that legislation of this type has been formally introduced. It is the first time that there has been official recognition of the concept that an urban area is a living organism and that the health and welfare of the whole and each of the parts are interrelated.

Among the criticisms that have been directed against it are that it is expected to be limited to only some 70 cities and that fund requirements have been grossly underestimated. These criticisms can be set aside for the moment on the grounds that a program of such dimensions must be tested on a limited basis before it goes into full-scale production. Undoubtedly, if it proves successful on a demonstration basis, there will be a clamor for its extension and the necessary funding will develop in time.

A more serious weakness of the bill as presently written lies in the fact that it is in danger of repeating the basic errors of the public housing and urban renewal programs. It does not embrace the entire urban community. The central cities will be anxious to utilize every available dollar, but the suburbs are likely to go right on siphoning off the more affluent whites and excluding the less fortunate and the nonwhites.

Under the proposed bill as submitted an overall city nondiscrimination policy will be suggested but will not be mandatory. Under these conditions, the Federal Government may continue to do precisely what it has been doing for thirty years—underwriting and subsidizing local government and industry policies and practices that perpetuate and encourage segregation.

To assure that the Demonstration Cities Program and all other programs directed toward resolving the problems of ghettos and slums will achieve the intended objectives, it is essential that they be conditioned upon parallel programs, standards, and criteria that will lead to an adequate supply of housing available to lower income families in many parts of each urban area, an open market, and affirmative desegregation procedures.

One important element of the proposed Demonstration Cities Program will be that, if the proper criteria are established and firmly administered, the cities that make maximum local commitments and show the greatest readiness to change will be rewarded accordingly.

CITIZEN SUPPORT

A successful attack upon the ghetto depends as much upon the people who live in the affluent and racially exclusive suburbs as upon those in the central city. This presents a major challenge to the religious and other groups in the suburbs concerned with equal rights. It is not enough to support fair housing programs that welcome Negroes of similar economic class and cultural attainment. Suburban communities must be prepared to accept a mix of lower income families, white and nonwhite, if the present ghettos are to become decent communities. The political leadership of suburban communities and of the states must understand this and take the necessary actions to make it happen.

Equal responsibility rests with the leadership within the ghetto and with the civil rights movement. Community action programs are needed to raise the people from hopelessness and apathy and to train them in the techniques of social action. There must also be preparation and motivation for participation in community life outside the ghetto. The ghettos will not be desegregated simply by protesting against or obtaining remedial action for conditions in the ghetto. Great numbers of families will have to move out of the ghettos into larger communities. Conditions within the ghetto will have to be changed and improved so others will be attracted there. All of this requires a great deal of change in people as well as in physical design.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

1. The elimination of the segregated pattern of residence from the American urban scene, the affirmative implementation of equal choice and freedom of movement for all Americans, and the revitalization of existing ghetto areas should be made the cornerstone of Federal housing policy. To achieve this goal Federal policy must first be committed to the earlier stated goals of an open market, an adequate housing supply at all economic levels, and the promotion of racially inclusive communities throughout each metropolitan area.

2. The proposed Demonstration Cities Program is strongly endorsed in its principle and its general design, and it should be supported by citizens and their organizations. However, it is urgently recommended that it be strengthened by mandatory requirements that approval of local programs be conditioned upon the development of a comprehensive metropolitan program and a body of standards and criteria that will assure an open market, an adequate supply of housing for low and moderate income families, and affirmative desegregation procedures.

Among the specific mandatory criteria should be:

a. A state or local fair housing law and a local plan for desegregation;

b. A growing supply of housing for low and moderate income families outside the ghetto.

It is further recommended that the program be extended to all cities if it proves workable and that it be funded at a much higher level than now proposed.

3. A realistic plan for promoting racial desegregation in the city and metropolitan community should be a basic and mandatory element of all workable programs for urban renewal. Desegregation should also be a mandatory criterion for all relocation and housing reuse plans. No clearance projects should be funded until the local authority can demonstrate that there is an adequate supply of suitable housing on a desegregated basis actually available and within the financial reach of the families to be relocated.

4. The practice of locating large public housing projects in areas of racial concentration must be changed and smaller units should be distributed throughout the metropolitan area. Leasing and purchasing programs should be used to acquire apartments and homes outside of areas of racial and low income concentrations.

5. Legislation is needed to authorize HUD and local authorities to diversify tenancy in large housing projects by removing some units from the low income status and applying the subsidies to houses in other areas, thus permitting a wider range of incomes in each area. Federal restriction on land and unit cost should be modified to permit construction of large units for large families. In new developments combinations of public housing, below market interest rate housing for moderate income, rent supplemented housing, and non-subsidized housing should be encouraged.

LOCAL ACTION PROJECTS IN HOUSING

While the ultimate solutions of the urban residential problems depend upon national and state action of the type recommended here, little action of any kind is likely to happen unless local concern and local readiness are expressed.

The recommendations in this report include many examples of the type of local initiative which might be undertaken. However, taken separately they do not constitute a program. Before significant change is likely to occur it will be necessary to develop a broadly based community effort through which many groups can be persuaded, assisted, and guided in carrying out specific projects which collectively would constitute a program.

While it will take time to develop the organizational machinery for achieving the four housing goals listed in this report, a start can be made in any community at any time. Outlined below is a broadly sketched model for a metropolitan area program to work toward the goals set forth in the report.

THE OPERATIONAL BASE

In every instance the operational base should be as broad as the metropolitan area. The central city and the suburb, the racial ghetto and the larger community, the poor housing and the good, the developed areas and the vacant land, the housing consumer and the industry—all are integral parts of the local problem and of the solutions.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The organizational structure should be kept relatively simple and decentralized. Each of the many program elements should be left to the initiative of, or be delegated to, the appropriate governmental, civil rights, civic, religious, business, or service organization. For some projects special committees, or non-profit corporations may have to be created.

THE INITIATING AND PLANNING GROUP

While the multiplicity of autonomous groups described above is important, it will nevertheless be necessary for a central group to serve in an overall stimulating, planning, initiating, guiding, and funding role. Unless such a group exists and fulfills its role successfully, it is unlikely that there will be a successful overall movement or program.

SPECIFIC ACTION PROJECTS

The following are merely examples of the projects which one or another organization or agency (or combination of organizations) might be prompted to undertake as part of a general metropolitan area program.

1. Housing Information and Service Centers:

Such centers should be strategically and conveniently located throughout the ghetto areas. They might be funded through such sources as the municipal government, private contributions, the community fund, foundations, OEO, and perhaps from Federal urban renewal sources if related to relocation. They should operate under independent auspices and be managed by competent professional staff. Among the services provided would be:

a. Obtain listings of available houses throughout the metropolitan areas, particularly those subject to the Executive Order, the state fair housing laws, etc.

b. Encourage families to come to the center for advice and assistance in finding suitable housing. Every effort should be made to persuade and encourage each family to consider housing which is outside the ghetto. However, serving the needs and desires of the family would take precedence over the center's desire to promote desegregation.

c. Advise families on housing costs, leasing, purchasing, financing, etc., to protect them against exploitation.

d. Advise families concerning their rights under law and assist them in filing and following through on complaints.

e. Conduct educational programs.

f. Promote tenant organizations to combat exploitation and to develop cooperation with community efforts to improve housing and neighborhood conditions.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Operation Open City in New York is a pilot project. It was initiated by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) and later transferred to the Urban League of Greater New York. It was privately funded through NCDH at the outset but now operates under a grant from OEO.

2. In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a housing information and service center is sponsored by the Urban League and funded by the Low Income Demonstration Program of HUD. Its functions are not precisely those described above, but there are many similarities.

3. In Boston, Massachusetts, a home finding service is sponsored by Fair Housing Councils. Inc. It was funded in part by the Low Income Demonstration Program of HUD for three years. That grant has expired, but the program has continued on

a curtailed basis with private funding. The function is similar to 1. above, but not as broad as suggested here.

4. The City of Philadelphia Relocation Center, which serves as a central relocation service for urban renewal and other public action, is sponsor of a housing information service also funded by the Low Income Demonstration Program.

5. The organization of fair housing centers is under way in four cities—Denver, Providence, Atlanta, and Rochester. Under a grant from OEO, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing initiated this program, which is directed at both making housing available to all and increasing the supply of low and moderate income housing.

DEVELOPING NEW HOUSING FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES

Private builders and non-profit corporations sponsored by religious, fraternal, labor, and other groups should be encouraged and assisted in obtaining land, preferably well removed from existing racial ghettos and located reasonably near centers of employment, and developing housing for moderate income families with the understanding that it is to be affirmatively marketed to both whites and nonwhites. By way of encouragement and assistance, a helping corporation should be created and funded to perform the following services:

1. Purchase and hold suitable land for resale to the developer corporations.
2. Provide technical assistance and guidance to the developer corporations.

The developing, owning, and managing corporations would require some capitalization but would be expected to operate in the black. Maximum use would be made of Sec. 213 and 221(d)(3) financing and rent supplements to bring rents and costs to a minimum. The helping corporation, on the other hand, would not be self-sustaining. It would have to be capitalized for the purpose of purchasing and holding land. It might derive some income in profits realized in turning over the land, but much profit taking would defeat its purpose. Therefore, funding through grants and contributions would be essential.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Foundation for Cooperative Housing (FCH)
   322 Main Street
   Stamford, Connecticut

FCH is a non-profit service corporation which is promoting and sponsoring cooperative and non-profit, racially inclusive housing developments in all parts of the United States. There are six regional offices. The number of developments directly or indirectly sponsored by this Agency now exceeds 60. All are racially inclusive and a substantial number are for moderate income families. Most are financed through either Section 213 or 221(d)(3). However, a number are financed through other means. Some of the developments sponsored by this group are listed below:

Connecticut

(1) Liberty Square, New Haven—(d)(3)
(2) River Haven, Stamford—213
(3) Stoney Brook Gardens, Stratford—213
(4) Success Village, Bridgeport (Converted public housing)—PHA Mortgage

Washington, D.C.

(1) River Park (S.W.), 519 units—213

Ohio

(1) Park Town, Cincinnati—(d)(3)

Michigan

(1) Chateau Fort Town Houses, Detroit—213
(2) Colonial Town Houses, Lansing—(d)(3)
(3) Town & Gardens, Saginaw—(d)(3)
(4) Atherton, Flint—(d)(3)
(5) Pontiac, Pontiac—(d)(3)
(6) Rainer-Hamilton Rehab., Detroit—(d)(3)

Indiana

(1) Jamestown, Fort Wayne—(d)(3)
(2) Jamestown Project, Michiwaka—(d)(3)

Illinois

(1) Park Forest, Illinois, 2000 Units (voluntary integration by resident membership)—213

West Coast

(1) Terra Linda, San Rafael County, California—213
(2) Berkshire Village, Kansas City, Kansas (urban renewal)—(d)(3)
(3) Loma Vista, Kansas City, Missouri (market rate)—(d)(3)
(4) Concord Village, Tempe, Arizona—(d)(3)

2. Community Resources Corporation is a Negro owned and operated organization assisting religious, civil rights, civic and other groups in sponsoring 221(d)(3) housing projects. Located in New York, it has been operating mainly in the South and midwest.

3. The Housing Development Corporation is a newly formed group in the Washington metropolitan area financed by a grant from the Low Income Demonstration Program of HUD. It is presently awaiting action on an application for funds from OEO which would serve as a revolving fund to finance land acquisitions for the construction of 221(d)(3) projects throughout the Washington metropolitan area.

4. Action Housing, Inc., is located in Pittsburgh. An affiliate of Urban America, Inc., it stimulates non-profit groups to build section 213 and section 221(d)(3) projects and to rehabilitate existing housing, operates a land bank program, and has pioneered in reducing housing costs. Its members represent many segments of the community.

5. Modern Community Developers, Inc., headed by Morris Milgram, was formed in 1958 to develop open housing in Philadelphia and Princeton, New Jersey. Subsequently, MCD has implemented its policy effectively in eight other states. In 1962, MCD purchased the first of several apartment buildings; it was integrated without incident. In addition, MCD continues to build private homes, apartments and, now cooperatives in Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York and Delaware.

INDUSTRY-BASED FAIR HOUSING COUNCIL

The several trade associations within the housing industry, representing home finance, home construction, and real estate might form fair housing councils which would seek to promote affirmative fair housing practices within the industry. Such councils would perform a significant service if they set up machinery for achieving them.

A similar activity might be undertaken by employers. President Johnson made such a proposal recently. Firms having government contracts have a responsibility to assure housing opportunities for nonwhite personnel.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The American Friends Service Committee is currently negotiating with groups of employers in several cities with the above object in mind. Programs are not far enough along to be publicized.

LEGISLATIVE SUPPORT PROGRAMS

Broadly based support for such legislative proposals as strengthened, full-coverage state fair housing laws, state regulations of local zoning codes, a Federal fair housing practices law, the Federal rent supplement program, and an improved demonstration cities bill is extremely important. Metropolitan legislative councils representative of both central cities and suburban groups, of minority and majority, of industry and consumer, strongly committed to the type of legislation recommended in this paper should be fostered, organized, and assisted with funds.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Pennsylvania Equal Rights Council (PERC), a council of religious, labor, civil rights, civic, and fraternal organizations favoring civil rights legislation generally and equal housing in particular. PERC is supported by individual and organizational contributions.

Freedom of Residency (FOR), Illinois. Organized to promote fair housing legislation.

Citizens United for a Fair Housing Law in Rhode Island.

New Jersey Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

Massachusetts Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

(For more detailed information, inquire of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, New York City.)

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS WITHIN THE GHETTO

Community action programs rooted within the ghetto itself and fostered and funded by the community action agencies established under the poverty program, state or local civil rights commissions, or voluntary civic or civil rights groups are needed to express the feelings and opinions of the people who live in the ghettos and slums.

Under appropriate leadership and guidance such programs can:

1. Call public attention to conditions in the slums.
2. Bring pressure upon public authorities and owners to remedy deficiencies and code violations.
3. Dramatize the need for rent supplement programs.
4. Persuade state legislature and welfare administrators to increase welfare rent allowances to the level required for standard quality housing.
5. Motivate and prepare families to utilize the opportunities available to escape the slums.

Illustrations

End Slums in Chicago, an activity of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations.

Mobilization for Youth in New York.

Numerous community action projects functioning under grants from the OEO.

HOUSING—
SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The general view expressed by the discussion groups was that if present trends are not reversed, slum conditions—urban and rural—will worsen and existing racial concentrations will intensify and expand. There was broad agreement that existing programs—governmental and private—are falling far short of

1. Meeting the housing needs of America's minorities and low income population, and
2. Creating racially and economically inclusive communities.

The Council's recommendations for action were endorsed in their entirety and supplemented by Conference suggestions and resolutions. These were generally supportive, adding specific amendments or, as one delegate said, supplying *"flesh to the skeleton."*

The conferees tended to be impatient with proposals for planning as they sought ways to translate hopes and goals into the *"brick and mortar"* of actual houses.

The suggestion that it is possible to negotiate on open occupancy with housing industry organizations, particularly with the National Association of Real Estate Boards, was considered by many to be, at best, wishful thinking. They maintained that progress in the private sector can only follow law and the uniform enforcement of that law by the Federal Government.

". . . There is no one who believes in community action more than I do, but when community action is not forthcoming, either through fear or unwillingness, then some outside pressure has got to be exerted, and the only pressure that I can see is Federal pressure."

No matter what route was charted—private citizen action, state and local governmental action, industry or religious or civic action—the consensus was that the initiative, incentive, and moral and financial leadership must come from the Federal Government.

Some confidence was expressed in the beginnings of a Federal commitment to provide for low and moderate income families, to revitalize the inner core of America's cities, and to break the *"white noose"* surrounding them through the Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the rent supplement program, the proposed Federal fair housing law, and the Demonstration Cities Program. But it was unanimously agreed that implementation of existing laws must be substantially strengthened and that, in addition, their provisions must be expanded and their funding vastly increased. Extension of the Executive Order was also recommended.

The discussions reflected the familiar chicken-and-egg consideration: which comes first—government action or the express will of the people?

"We haven't mobilized the American people into understanding that only as we are prepared to allocate adequate resources to do these other things will we be able to make the kind of progress that technologically we are now capable of making."

How to mobilize this public support, win over the *"power structure,"* and get massive housing programs under way was never definitively answered. It was agreed that the problem in Southern communities is likely to prove more difficult than elsewhere in the country.

A major concern of the conferees was to find means to break the hold of the slumlords on powerless tenants. Inasmuch as the Council did not deal with this aspect of the housing problem, the discussions opened new areas for analysis, as summarized in the succeeding section on revitalizing the ghetto.

Spokesman after spokesman rose in each meeting to urge his fellow conferees to muster support in their communities for the proposed Federal fair housing law with certain recommended additions, and other legislation aimed at increasing the supply of low and moderate income housing. They also urged organization of groups to sponsor the building of housing for this underhoused group.

Perhaps the most eloquent statements were made on behalf of the rural Negro, who is facing the bleakest prospects in all areas. Massive efforts were urged to produce housing, jobs, and other life essentials for this group of citizens.

The tragedy of the Watts riot has not ended. The very housing problems that contributed to its happenings are being exacerbated. Housing improvements and even maintenance are being frustrated because institutions refuse to make loans, write insurance and so on. It was the clear sense of the discussions that this vicious circle must be broken if we are to achieve the objectives of the Council Report, which, with additions, are now those of the entire Conference.

I. FREEDOM OF CHOICE—THE OPEN MARKET

The magnitude and variety of obstacles barring Negroes from access to white neighborhoods and communities make the area of equal housing opportunity the most complex of Civil Rights problems. Federal action, state and local laws have not made significant inroads on the established racial residential patterns. The impact of housing segregation, of separate white and Negro communities, is felt in all related fields—education, employment, and the political process.

As one conferee said,

"Every school ought to be a cross section of America in order to have the splendid diversity in all of its wonderful exciting forms, and the only way you can do that is to build the city in which you can get economic and racial integration."

ROLE OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Who and what is that *"power structure"* which operates to bar Negroes and low income persons from suburbia? Builders, lenders, realtors, Federal, state and local governments, and white and Negro private citizens share the responsibility. One segment of the housing industry—the National Association of Real Estate Boards—was credited with giving *"birth to this organized program of discrimination in housing."* NAREB was roundly castigated throughout the housing discussion.

While they advocate voluntary action with a self-policing mechanism, local real estate boards are fighting fair housing legislation at every governmental level, it was reported. The absence of tangible accomplishments leaves their commitment to voluntary action in doubt. Where legislation has been successfully passed, several local boards have initiated referenda to repeal them, as in the case of California's Proposition 14, recently declared unconstitutional by that state's Supreme Court.

Much of the real estate industry is now directing its efforts at blocking passage of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1966.

"[*In May,*] *NAREB voted $300,000 to fight the Federal legislation on housing. And they sent out some 750,000 pieces of literature to their local boards, and they are now organizing a national campaign as well as a local campaign in every community throughout this nation to fight what they call forced housing . . . Therefore, I think that when we start talking in terms of implementing any resolution of this type, we have to begin to fight fire with fire, both on a national and a local level."*

A participant asked if there was any legal basis for NAREB's contention that homeowners have the right to discriminate. A lawyer on the panel answered:

"There is no such thing as an absolute right. Rights are conditioned by society for the social welfare."

In view of the fact that the *"housing industry with few exceptions is the one major industry in the United States that is not tuned up for integration,"* a leader of a national organization working to open housing opportunities noted that *"some of the recommendations for private industry seem to be pretty unrealistic . . ."*

Another conferee similarly observed that the Council's recommendations that *"the local real estate board and local banking and savings and loans and insurance companies . . . publish affirmative policy statements . . . that trade officials . . . enter into intensive dialogue with leaders in Civil Rights . . . is completely unrealistic."*

Other segments of the housing industry were not held guiltless. It was maintained that lending institutions do not extend mortgage loans to Negroes on the same terms as they do to white borrowers; higher down payments, shorter term loans, and higher interest rates are the rule regardless of the credit, income, and other qualifications of the Negro applicant. It was recommended that law require equal standards regardless of race.

One solution offered in several committees was that the Federal National Mortgage Association be authorized to make direct loans, (in addition to its secondary market operations) to meet the needs of minority group persons denied loans because of race. It was estimated that Negro owned companies account for only one percent of all mortgage lending and, therefore, cannot make a dent in segregation.

Another conferee called for the appointment of a Negro to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the formation of a national savings and loan association with regional organizations *"to make available financing to groups that are being denied it in the various communities."* By creating this competition, such an association might well induce other savings and loan and lending institutions to follow its lead.

In distinguishing among the various parts of the housing industry, the homebuilders as a national group were considered to have become more responsible of late. Cited as an example was the adoption of an open occupancy policy by the Wilmington, Delaware, homebuilders.

THE FEDERAL ROLE

Time and again the discussion returned to the role of the Federal Government. As one conferee put it:

"Let us not look to the community and say, if you respond with action then things will happen. Let us say to the government, stop perpetuating, stop expanding it, and then we will help you break it down."

The conferees left no doubt of their view that all Federal programs must not only be applied without discrimination, but must work together to reduce segregation and promote integration.

Disappointment and frustration with the *"soft"* implementation of the Executive Order and Title VI permeated the housing discussions:

"How does the Federal Government propose to get the cooperation of the housing industry? Do they not in fact have many tools with which pressure could be brought?"

"Every effort [must] be made to ensure that Federal funds shall not be used to initiate, intensify or perpetuate segregated housing."

"Urge the President and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to exercise all their powers against discrimination by builders, renters and financial institutions where Government funds or credit is involved."

The Federal Housing Administration, operating in support of the private housing market, has not effected noticeable change in racial housing patterns. Mainly, it was noted, the problem is that FHA is not *"consumer-oriented, but banker-oriented."*

One proposal would require builders who are subject to the requirements of the Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing to advertise to that effect.

Another specific area suggested for investigation is the procedure by which area brokers are appointed to handle reacquired FHA properties. Constant checks were urged to ensure that these houses are offered, in fact, without discrimination. If not, it was proposed that FHA should sell or rent such properties directly. It was further suggested that minority rights would be better protected if more Negroes were employed in FHA regional offices.

A recommendation directed to all Federal departments would require them:
"to affirmatively seek integrated open occupancy housing for their employees. Federal agencies should stipulate that they will contract only with open occupancy landlords or realtors in finding housing for their employees."

Another suggestion was that the Conference *"urge the Federal Government to encourage Federal contractors to provide integrated housing for their employees."*

The Defense Department was called on to make use of the military *"off limits"* procedures to ensure that developments and other available housing around Federal bases are rented and sold on an open basis.

It was recommended that the Conference *"strongly urge the United States Congress to enact this year a Fair Housing Act of 1966 which (a) prohibits discrimination based upon race, color, religion, national origin, in the sale, rental and financing of all private housing, land and commercial space; (b) establishes an Equal Opportunity in Housing Commission; (c) empowers this Commission to initiate and receive complaints from individuals and organizations and provide for fiscal year 1966 an appropriation of $8 million for this Commission's operation and staff."*

Conferees warned that fair housing legislation faces a hard fight and needs expressions of citizen support. One conferee advocated active pressure on realtors, builders, and bankers who are opposing the bill.

In addition to Congressional action, extension of the Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing was recommended *"to cover all housing, new or existing, and the financing of such housing, where Federal mortgage insurance, deposit insurance guarantee, underwriting or financing has been or is involved."*

Lack of confidence in the prospective enforcement of these provisions was evident as the conferees asked for assurance that these laws, regulations, and guidelines would be more than words.

STATE ACTION

It was noted that the Council's Report included no statement on the need for the adoption of the state fair housing laws where there are none and the strengthening of weak laws now on the books. Constant policing was urged, on the grounds that gentlemen's agreements among brokers and other industry members successfully maintain segregation despite fair housing laws.

The discussions elicited support for the Council's recommendation that state licensing laws be applied to require realtors and brokers to offer housing without regard to race or color.

Another means suggested to secure a free market was to couple with every zoning ordinance a *"freedom of residence ordinance."*

A massive, substantially financed effort to *"popularize the value of integrated living"* was urged. This would take the form of a Federal educational program on housing integration and Federal financing of voluntary private groups organized for this purpose.

Resistance to integration in the white community and the need for the majority population to be prepared for changes were acknowledged. So was conversely, the fact that the Negro population is so conditioned to white hostility and the absence of choice that an equally energetic program to encourage Negroes to seek housing in white areas is necessary.

More specifically, resolutions were passed urging *"widespread initiative and private involvement and support of open occupancy in housing"* and a recommendation that *"individuals and managers of institutional funds act on the concept of involvement whereby at least 10 per cent of the invested funds are committed to the service of integrated housing and related activities."*

Citizen participation in the form of community action programs was endorsed to *"foster integration as a social goal in housing and to mobilize community support in the white communities for this goal."*

Debate on the use of *"benign quotas"* to stabilize integrated neighborhoods was brief but lively. All agreed that ideally—if the goal of a universally open market were achieved—there would be no need for such controls. But it was the majority view that, until that time, such a policy would penalize Negro families in most communities. When decent housing that most Negroes can afford is in desperately short supply to deny a Negro family such housing—even if the motive is to maintain *"racial balance"* and thus integration—is to visit a severe hardship on them.

Private employers were viewed as a potential force for housing integration. Some conferees maintained that employers should be held responsible under Title VII for extending housing assistance in suburbs to Negro employees. In cases where personnel are transferred, industry can acquire and negotiate the sale or rental of their houses on an open occupancy basis. Several industries already act for their employees in such instances.

Resolutions, comments, and other observations were sometimes applicable to particular sections of the country. In the South, it was said, segregated housing is becoming more prevalent.

"Atlanta, in another 10 years [is] going to have another Watts . . . state and local governmental action, no less citizen action, will not be forthcoming for integrated housing in the South. Pressure from without, that being the Federal Government, is the only means."

II. HOUSING SUPPLY FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES

Two of the most pressing concerns of the participants were the elimination of existing substandard, squalid housing in both urban and rural settings and the inadequacy of programs to provide low income housing through both new construction and rehabilitation of substandard units. Participants, in accord with the Council's Report, said present programs in both areas are too limited to keep pace with growing needs. More money, expanded and new programs and techniques were called for to provide the necessary housing within a market offering free choice to all regardless of race and income.

"We have got to recognize that the American economy that can turn out ten million automobiles ought to be able to produce two million houses for the American people. And until we begin to get that kind of concept into this housing field we are just going to continue to piddle on the

outer fringes of the basic housing problem . . . We have got to use the tools of the twentieth century technological revolution."

Who in the American economy, it was asked, is going to fill this need and where will these houses be built—in the inner city or in the outlying suburbs—in rural communities where employment opportunities are lacking? There was apparent agreement that improving housing in the ghetto and dispersion of low and moderate income housing were compatible objectives.

It was also the prevailing view that private industry has not done the job and that present Federal policy—relying chiefly on providing inducements to private industry to build housing for that part of the population now underhoused and, often, unhoused—will not make up the difference.

While, on the one hand, Federal programs offer resources and incentive for low and moderate income housing, on the other hand, Federal programs such as highway construction, urban renewal, and other public works are actually reducing the number of low income housing units. It was recommended that *"any program which involves a net reduction in the volume and amount of housing available to low income people should not be given any kind of Federal aid."* A companion recommendation would condition *"Federal assistance for community facilities and services . . . on . . . programs that will provide for low and moderate income housing commensurate with the needs of the metropolitan area of which they are a part . . ."* A further resolution would require that any subdivisions of government seeking Federal assistance must *"establish an agency . . . to conduct and maintain a current inventory of all available housing whether for sale, lease, or rental and to catalog and make available to the public all such information . . ."*

One participant observed that the best of the Federal housing programs, such as urban renewal and FHA-insured and VA-guaranteed mortgages, are beyond the means of the poor and even moderate-income family. However, the discussions and recommendations for increasing the housing supply reflected the opinion that the Federal Government is the one instrumentality with the resources and authority to create housing at this income level. There was consensus that existing programs such as the 221(d)(3) moderate income housing program and rent supplements can generate housing production and rehabilitation; that, given appropriate controls, amendments, and sufficient funding, they can enable more and more poor families to obtain decent housing.

Among the suggestions relative to 221(d)(3) and rent supplements were the following:

"The Administration should direct the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to give top priority to housing programs for the poor in our major cities, by encouraging and funding the administration cost of non-profit housing corporations designed to make creative use of Federal programs such as 221(d)(3) [program] and the rent subsidy program . . . and revolving funds . . . available to such corporations . . . to allow efficient operation in the competitive field of land and property acquisition."

A plea was heard to help non-profit groups in 221(d)(3) projects, as opposed to package builders who are not interested in the principle of the program. It was also urged that the 221(d)(3) program be amended to include widows and/or single persons in these moderate income housing projects.

It was held that locating such housing on the edge of the ghetto creates additional problems, such as further burdening already overcrowded school systems, and that strong criteria for site selection are therefore needed.

RENT SUPPLEMENTS

Under present law, rent supplements are available to eligible families only in new projects built or substantially rehabilitated under 221(d)(3) market interest rate program. (A small experimental program covers below market interest rate projects.) This narrow base was severely attacked on several grounds.

Were rent supplements to apply to all housing, *"local or Federal governments could select appropriate housing that is on the market and pre-empt the purchase of that accommodation . . . and place qualified individuals in that housing and supplement the rents or low income families would be given the rent supplement directly and permitted to find their own housing, provided of course that it is decent, and in the context of an open market."*

Others pointed out that under the proposed system, the burden would once more be on the individual; but that by extending the program to cover housing not under 221(d)(3), freedom of choice would be a fact for low income families.

Frequently proposed was a broad Federal program to enable low income families to purchase as well as rent homes. At present, there is no systematic approach to subsidizing low income home ownership; yet, it was pointed out, 50 per cent of low income families have equity in housing. Such home ownership could be extended under 221(d)(3), as the Council recommended, with purchase as well as rent subsidies.

One suggestion was the self-help housing plan as a means of creating decent low income housing:

"Self-help, low-cost housing should be encouraged and assisted by the relevant agencies of government. Millions of dollars of loan funds, properly guaranteed, are available from union trust funds and should be used."

One means of increasing the total supply of decent housing is rehabilitating salvageable buildings. High labor costs and unrealistic building codes in urban areas have retarded this process substantially. It was suggested that using *"the two-third/one-third urban renewal formula in acquiring old housing and reselling it to a nonprofit organization"* would reduce these costs to make rehabilitation feasible and rents lower. (This is a feature of the pending Demonstration Cities Program.)

Another suggestion was the creation by the Federal Government of a development corporation which would work in the field of rehabilitation.

In all of these designs, the difficulties of getting under way were pointed out. A conferee asserted that FHA has not been aggressive in taking care of people as against banking corporations and cited the lack of FHA-insured rehabilitation loans outside of urban renewal areas. He called for reevaluation of FHA policies and practices to increase the number of FHA insured mortgages (for purchase and rehabilitation) in older residential areas which are the major sources of Negro housing, on the one hand, and integrated areas struggling to remain so, on the other. In some FHA regional offices, it was charged, personnel are ill-informed or unenthusiastic about new and often complicated programs.

To reduce housing costs, a conferee urged greater utilization of mobile homes, while another insisted that the price of land is forcing housing costs up and that zoning density regulations must be reevaluated.

Others observed that the present tight money policy is curbing housing construction and that the Federal Reserve Board should consider and deal with this adverse effect in the critical area of housing. Whereas every effort should be made to reduce housing costs, trends are in the opposite direction.

Yet another problem was seen in those communities which refuse to accept Federal aid for low income housing while enjoying other Federal benefits.

"The concentration of people [in my neighborhood] is just about out of hand. It's two and a half times that of any other part of the city with no added schools, no added city services, and it's making for us what could develop into the situation we have at Watts."

This conferee asked:

"How do we encourage local city fathers to get Federal aid to give relief to these people in the low income bracket?"

A panelist recalled the Council's proposal that all Federal assistance should be conditioned on the provision of low and moderate housing.

Another related problem is the failure of communities to expend funds already appropriated. New legislation to deal with this matter was urged.

RURAL HOUSING

The Conference discussion on the crisis in rural housing was extensive.

"We can develop programs, including building one million rural houses . . . repairing a couple of million rural houses . . . building some tens of thousands of water systems so people can have inside plumbing, and don't have to use privies or the bushes, or go out and look for a stream to find drinking water . . . Many of the people who are Federal employees, whose job it is to help the people use these programs are in collusion with property owners in local areas to prevent people from getting the benefits of law and Federal legislation and authorization of money which we taxpayers put in for all the people."

A recommendation made in several committees called for the extension of the Council's recommendations to cover *all* low income and *"no income"* families, not merely the elderly and agricultural laborer.

"OEO does not feel it can move in terms of providing brick and mortar for housing. We need money that could be donated or Federal monies that could be put in a revolving fund and then coupled with a very long term FHA loan . . . We have a chance to do something in the area of housing in these black belt areas, especially throughout the rural area . . ."

But what about the sharecroppers replaced by machines in Mississippi who are losing their almost uninhabitable huts? One spokesman estimated that there are now 30,000 homeless Negroes in the Mississippi Delta. A Federal official explained that the Government is trying to work out a program combining jobs, training, and housing and, more immediately, trying to get trailers for those badly housed or not housed at all.

The ineffectiveness of Federal programs was criticized:

"Your Farmers Home Administration, they lend money there to build houses. We

have some folks there, maybe they have two acres of land . . . I've been told if they go to make a loan, you got to pay five and six hundred dollars down before you get a loan. Well, the fellow says, if I got six hundred dollars, I would build my own house."

It was reported that at a hearing before the Georgia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,

"A Farmers Home administrator said that he had no sympathy for the new program in self-help housing when the Farmers Home Administration is committed to the financing of that program . . ."

Another difficulty in obtaining Federal assistance confronts long-time residents who cannot establish clear title to the land and consequently are unable to secure loans to put in plumbing and other improvements.

As one participant observed, the question is shelter—*"basic, minimum shelter."*

It was recommended that the

"Federal Government should provide the means to construct one million new rural houses and perform major repair on two and a half million dilapidated ones during the next ten years. This should create 250,000 new jobs annually."

III. SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES AND NEW TOWNS

The inaccessibility of white suburbia was accented by the paucity of suggestions on how to break down the barriers of race and income. It was pointed out that racial discrimination and economic inability have removed these communities from the experience of the vast majority of Negroes.

The intransigent stand of the real estate industry and the discriminatory policies and practices of the other members of the housing industry, as discussed in the section on Freedom of Choice, were seen as determining factors in maintaining white suburbia.

One participant called for Federal enabling legislation to permit the creation of metropolitan type governments. Others pointed out that this is within the province of the states; however, the Federal Government can offer inducements to local governments in the form of grants and loans or apply sanctions such as the withholding of benefits where no such plan exists.

Disenchantment with the effectiveness of the second method was expressed:

"Withholding Federal funds is not the answer. The alternative is to make it possible to have court actions against the individuals, groups or organizations which are perpetuating closed housing or segregated housing."

On the other hand,

"We can't permit a community to pick and choose in this day and age those things they particularly want and turn away things that are really socially necessary for that locality as well."

Another conferee observed that programs for highways and urban renewal

". . . as they are presently implemented, do not help the Negroes and other minority group members or our poor citizens. They grant almost exclusive benefits to the white suburban community . . . I think we should consider . . . the possibility of an immediate cessation of [these] programs."

Nevertheless, metropolitan planning and the need for various local jurisdictions to cooperate in a total plan were viewed by many as essential.

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Prohibiting the use of zoning regulations to keep out minority group members and low income persons was advocated. Methods of accomplishing this objective were not proposed, except for the sanction of withholding Federal aid.

It was stated that economic pressures and persuasion can be effective in the suburbs as industry and government increasingly establish plants and offices there, since the community suffers monetary loss when Negro employees are unable to reside near their place of employment; they spend their dollars elsewhere. Where industry, the Federal Government, and labor unions are located in various parts of the country, they must be consistent:

"It's not good enough to have a pious declaration of the head office."

The question was raised whether or not under Title VI Federal assistance to highways could be withheld if housing in the community is segregated. One panelist said it is not now being done but could be done administratively; another disagreed.

Emphasis in this area was clearly on the Council's recommendation that Federal assistance to suburban communities be conditioned on their implementation and adoption of programs which, in the words of a conferee,

". . . would provide for a wide spectrum of housing which would tend, of course, to solve some of our educational problems—some of the problems of de facto segregation—as well as putting an end to the horrible monotony of the all white suburb."

IV. REVITALIZING AND INTEGRATING THE GHETTO

Public housing and urban renewal were bitterly criticized by many conferees as the Federal tools by which local authorities perpetuate the ghettos. Reforming these programs and cutting off the flow of profits to the slumlords were urgently demanded, while revitalizing the ghetto was called a *"long range goal of the first priority."*

Eliminating slum conditions is literally a matter of life and death, according to a physician at the Conference. Infant and maternal death rates among Negroes are rising in the ghettos *". . . because housing is so related to health—with problems of colds in infants . . . to the elderly; . . . to the general dangerous environment of broken glass and rotting houses and vermin."*

These dire conditions were seen as products, in part, of the failure to enforce housing codes.

"Anytime that you get a census that has more than 50 per cent nonwhite residents, you can multiply by five or ten the amount of housing code violations."

Other forces cited as accelerating deterioration are policies of lending institutions and insurance companies which do not service ghetto areas. One conferee stated that recent events in Watts make it impossible to secure residential loans or insurance protection, particularly in that part of Watts designated as the *"riot area."*

Projected urban renewal was described as still another contributing factor. In one community, reported a conferee, a slum area was designated for clearance and, for at least three years, no one was concerned with maintaining or improving the housing. Two children died in a fire there because *"the city did not have to worry about it."*

LANDLORD-TENANT RELATIONSHIP

Many participants at the Conference were critical of the absence of discussion in the Council report of the landlord-tenant relationship in the nation's slums. Basic changes to create equitable sharing of rights and responsibilities by the two parties were strongly advocated.

To place these parties in more equal bargaining positions several courses of action were proposed:

1. The formation of tenant unions to negotiate contracts with landlords.
2. The institution of tenant suits against landlords for housing code violations.
3. Rent strikes or the withholding of rents during which a Negro agent would collect the rents until the landlord made improvements.

A fourth suggestion was based on the premise that

"One of the problems . . . with the slums is . . . that there is a continuous resale of property because it is one of the biggest money-makers we have. We will begin to take profit out of it by prohibiting the sale or rental for occupancy of the property until it is brought up to standard."

Whether or not the property owner will find it financially worthwhile to bring the structure up to standard was seen as a big question. One conferee was pessimistic:

"When rent is reduced or other action taken, slumlords walk away and people are still left in those conditions. It is still a firetrap. It is still a rat trap . . ."

His answer was to have the government acquire and rehabilitate it and let the tenants become cooperative owners.

A major source of rental money for slum property is welfare and other public assistance payments. In one large city, a delegate said,

"The welfare department, using city, state and Federal money, is the largest supporter of the slum structures."

The money now spent on inferior housing could buy decent housing, according to a conferee:

"We have an architect who has just put together a decent house at $12,000 which you could have financed at $88 a month . . . which is the basic price given to ADC mothers in Chicago . . . This $88 goes to a slum as it now exists. It would then be going as equity to the persons in the property who are involved in a cooperative venture."

PUBLIC HOUSING

Public Housing projects built in massive, high rise conglomerations dominate and symbolize the ghettos in most of the large Northern cities. In some Southern cities, they were the first form of systematically segregated housing. Authoritarian and paternalistic management policies and managers complete the image. In addition to the task of desegregating existing projects and creating new integrated housing, local policies of a more general nature were demanded.

First, the Council's proposal for scattered sites was endorsed:

"The Federal Government should scatter vest pocket units of housing rather than continue the construction of economic and sometimes racial ghettos by building massive

public housing developments which tend to perpetrate de facto *segregation."*

Further, the local public housing authority was to be *"encouraged,"* as well as enabled to function on a metropolitan basis.

Much debate centered around Federal control over site selection. Leaving discretion to local authorities was viewed as totally unacceptable, and there was a good deal of skepticism concerning PHA's determination to exercise its prerogative:

"I am talking about the fact of sending an investigator into the community and then receiving a letter from the Department of Housing; you know, that the matter has been looked into and that the Department is satisfied that the local housing authority is in compliance with the guidelines."

It was suggested that occupancy of a project solely by members of one race should be *prima facie* evidence of non-compliance.

What about existing all-white and all-Negro projects? It was maintained that only tenant selection policies can change the established patterns:

"Freedom of choice is all backwards. For ten years now we have been struggling in Virginia with little children—the more courageous parents taking it upon themselves to desegregate the schools, and now people are saying that community leaders or a private person should take upon themselves the burden of desegregating public housing. To me it's perfectly ridiculous . . . public authority should require that tenants be assigned to break the racially segregated pattern."

The speaker recommended:

"That the government has the full and immediate responsibility of desegregating every existing housing project which government operates;

"That freedom of choice be recognized as totally incompetent for the desegregation of existing housing projects;

"And that the public housing authority in each city should be required to assign every applicant for public housing in such manner as will aid in the desegregation of the city's public housing projects."

The application in Louisville, Kentucky, of this recommended procedure was described by a Federal public housing official:

"I regret very much to say that [the Federal Public Housing Administration] had no role in the change of policy. The Louisville housing division was purporting to comply with Title VI, changed its policy from freedom of choice and placed its burden of achieving integration to one of first come, first served.

"Louisville attempted to bring about that dispersion of families. They have done it. The occupancy patterns have held very well and we are hopeful that more authorities will adopt such policy."

It was recommended that the Federal Government enforce its housing policy through a process similar to that provided for in the Voting Rights Act of 1965—that is, by sending Federal examiners to the site of discrimination.

Another conferee called for a law to penalize local officials for conspiring to segregate public housing in violation of Title VI.

Other local housing authority policies which work inequities on the Negro were described. Repeatedly mentioned was the barring of unwed mothers from public housing:

"Public housing [authorities] . . . would and do evict unwed mothers for giving birth to children out of wedlock. This strikes me as being one of the most heartless and . . . cruel instruments or forms of punishment.

It actually denies a woman who has made a mistake the right to decent housing. This seems . . . to turn these people back into the slums to be victimized by heartless landlords."

Rules respecting income limits also mean hardship:

"[People] get into the public housing. Their income suddenly goes up a couple of hundred dollars and they say they are in the middle class. Then you put them out. Where do they go? Back to the slums because they don't have any freedom of choice . . . They have become accustomed to these appliances, hot and cold water, nice floors. Why throw them out in the slums?"

It was argued that children of public housing tenant families should be permitted to hold jobs without affecting the amount of rent or occupancy conditions.

The point was made that the typical architecture and landscaping of public housing support the institutional atmosphere and the knowledge that these apartments are publicly subsidized: poor maintenance and lack of community pride contribute to the overall picture of *"just another slum."*

Displacement of persons for public housing construction raises problems comparable to any public construction, such as highways. It was recommended:

"That prior to providing monies for public housing development, the Federal Government should insist that all housing and building codes be strictly enforced before the funds be made available to the community requesting the funds; that planning in depth be made in the area of relocation. Also in order that a ghetto will not be perpetuated, the communities seeking funds for public housing development must produce a definite plan of rehabilitation of substandard housing along with its plans for the construction of public housing."

URBAN RENEWAL

In view of many, if not most, of those at the Conference, urban renewal has aggravated the severe housing shortage for Negroes and persons of low and moderate income. The allegation that urban renewal is "Negro removal" was frequently heard.

A resident of a Missouri city reported that urban renewal was removing all the Negroes from that community because no relocation housing was available to them in that city. He declared that citizens who have written letters to the Department of Housing and Urban Development have received answers, but no action.

One of the intended protections against such injustices is the requirement of citizen participation in the workable program. There was consensus that this requirement was nominal; that, in fact, advisory committees are not even consulted.

A Federal requirement was suggested that the advisory committee members must affix their signatures to proposals indicating approval or disapproval. Members who disapproved the proposals would attach a statement of their reasons thereto. Under this plan, the responsible Federal agency in the region would be required to make on-the-spot inspections and interviews of community leaders in the affected area.

Redevelopment of urban renewal sites has been prevailing for middle and upper income families. The Southwest Washington project was cited as an example of the replacement of low income substandard housing with expensive high rise apartments and townhouses.

One factor cited as contributing to loss of faith in Federal action is the participation in urban renewal programs of companies which are knowingly discriminating in their other operations. One case was cited in which seven allegations of discrimination are pending before the state anti-discrimination body against a real estate company which is a co-developer of urban renewal housing.

Relocating displaced families, usually Negroes and other minority group members of low income, into decent and desegregated housing is destined to fail so long as the supply is inadequate and the market discriminatory. Many of these families are owners of standard and decent homes. As Negroes, they have probably paid inflated prices because of discriminatory practices. When relocated, they are not awarded a sum representing replacement value. Consequently, they do not have the funds to buy on the existing market. To preclude these deprivations, it was recommended:

"That the Administration declare a moratorium on additional urban renewal or other Federal grant clearance, such as highways, until construction of low and middle income housing can in fact meet the legal and quantitative requirements for relocation."

The Council's concern that the Administration's Demonstration Cities Program advance desegregation by race and income was taken up by the conferees. It was recommended that construction and rehabilitation allocations should be made throughout the city and not limited to the neighborhoods designated for improvement.

The scope and funding of this program was deemed far short in terms of the objective.

"The U.S. Government cannot afford to talk about some demonstration pilot projects in housing. This is fantastic in a nation which has a gross national product of $600 billion. The major question is one of priorities. Are we concerned with people and the way they live?"

The process of selection of cities was questioned as well. *"According to the Secretary of HUD, we are to select cities 'with the most imaginative, greatest ideas.' Absent from all of this are the ones with the greatest need . . ."* A panelist responded that *"this is a demonstration that will lead the way."* We will *"find solutions by giving it to cities who can use it well."*

It was also recommended:

"That an integral part of the Demonstration Cities Program, plus other cities so designated because of the obvious need and size of public housing be the implementation of supplementary grants and/or outright appropriations coordinated at the Federal level for the provision of the locally based social service centers in all public housing projects affording a wide range of necessary and needed health and welfare resources."

It was also suggested that existing programs can and should be used to revitalize the ghetto. For example, FHA financing should be made available for old, deteriorating [not slum] housing where it is especially needed.

Conferees maintained that, if the ghetto is not to be perpetuated, locating public housing and using rent supplements outside the area and attracting people of different races and incomes into the area should be pursued in parallel fashion.

It was maintained that ghetto residents must participate in the entire process. For example, a conferee referred to the Citizens Care Committee in Harlem which *"approaches local authorities in doing such things as renovating existing structures and providing play space for children."*

Conferees expressed agreement with the Council's statement that there are valuable and tangible assets in the ghetto which should be preserved. It was their view that the forces of deterioration and blight—physical and social—must be turned back so that we can, as Americans, enjoy the richness and excitement that is life in the city.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—

COUNCIL'S REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

This paper sets down briefly certain guidelines for positive action to assure equal justice in the administration of law in the United States. The guidelines fall into three categories:

—protection of Negroes and civil rights workers from intimidation;
—equal justice for Negroes;
—police-minority group community relations.

1. PROTECTION OF NEGROES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS FROM INTIMIDATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHTS

The first area of concern is to develop effective legislative and executive measures to combat the deplorable condition, found in some parts of the deep South, where Americans are murdered, beaten, and subjected to other forms of intimidation because they exercise constitutional or other Federal rights or aid others in the exercise of such rights. The murders of the three civil rights workers in Neshoba County, Mississippi; of Lemuel Penn and Viola Liuzzo on the highways of Georgia and Alabama; of Reverend Reeb in Selma, Alabama; and of Jonathan Daniels in Hayneville, Alabama, are among the most notorious examples. Twenty-six Negro and white civil rights workers were murdered between the 1960 sit-in demonstrations and the spring of 1965. In addition, there have been numerous shootings, beatings, bombings and church burnings. In Mississippi alone there were 150 incidents of serious racial violence reported from 1961 to the middle of 1964.

The problem is magnified by the fact that the assailants are rarely brought to justice. The United States Commission on Civil Rights investigated racial violence in several Mississippi counties. Two of these counties were Adams and Madison. In its 1965 Law Enforcement Report, the Commission found that:

> From September 1963 to September 1964, in Adams County and the surrounding area, four Negroes were whipped and a white civil rights worker assaulted, one Negro was shot and seriously injured, and at least one Negro was murdered. There were also cross burnings on several occasions and arson attempts on two Negro homes, as well as destruction by fire of four Negro churches and a Negro cafe. A climax was reached on the night of September 26, 1964, when the homes of the mayor of Natchez and a prominent Negro contractor were bombed. Law enforcement authorities failed to solve any of these cases.

The results in Madison County were similar:

> Civil rights workers have been active in Canton, the county seat, since 1962. The violence which occurred in 1964 was primarily directed at them, at their headquarters, the "Freedom House," and at local churches. In Madison County from June 1963 to September 1964, five Negroes were wounded by gunshot and the Freedom House was bombed twice and shot at on three occasions. Three other buildings in the Negro community were bombed, and four Negro churches were destroyed by fire. There were also several assaults on Negroes and white civil rights workers. In only two cases were the persons responsible for this violence arrested and prosecuted, and in both instances the defendants pleaded no contest and received minimal fines.

The Commission found that investigation of these incidents by the responsible law enforcement officials was shallow and that in some cases officials treated civil rights workers as suspects rather than victims.

The threat to the personal security and rights of Negroes and civil rights workers in the South warrants the attention of the country and the Congress. Interference with the exercise or attempted exercise of Federally protected rights cannot be accepted. There must be adequate Federal protection for those asserting federal rights.

2. EQUAL JUSTICE FOR NEGROES

The second area of concern is the need to secure equal justice for Negroes in the South. Negro citizens and civil rights workers must be free to exercise their constitutional rights free from harassment, intimidation, and discrimination by courts, court officials, law enforcement agents, and unfairly selected juries.

In the South justice is administered to Negroes by white men, who occupy the positions of judge, justice of the peace, prosecuting attorney, sheriff, policeman, courtroom clerk, bailiff and juror. As Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of the Harvard Law School and a member of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, has written, these persons "use their authority far too often to perpetrate a system of social control, which may represent what has been regarded as the southern way of life, but which is wholly inconsistent with rights established by valid Federal power as a part of 'the supreme Law of the Land.'. . . The Negro, and his supporters, march in the streets not because the law is not clear, but because it has not been followed. He knows from long experience that a resort to the courts will far too often result initially, in delay, frustration, injustice, and denial of clearly defined right.

It is small comfort to him that three years later he will get justice from the Supreme Court of the United States." Dean Griswold called for the dispensing of "true and real justice" by the local officials close at hand.

The Southern Regional Council has described the pervasiveness of dual justice in the South:

> "In many areas of the South, dual justice is a standing abuse to all Negroes—the maid, the undertaker, the field hand, the school teacher, the minister. It exists from birth to death and the knowledge of it comes so early that a man may think he received it in his genes. It exists in the day to day brushes with 'the law': the policeman on his beat, at traffic court, in civil cases. It exists in the more awesome confrontations with judges and juries in rape and murder cases. To the extent that it exists, it provokes desperation among Negroes, shakes their faith in democracy, causes them to shun the policeman and the courts as enemies."

The dual system of justice in the South is reflected in discriminatory setting of bail, verdicts, sentencing, and treatment by law enforcement officials. It is also reflected in segregated courtrooms and courthouse restrooms. Even more fundamental is the difficulty in obtaining adequate representation by lawyers—officers of the courts—who must face the consequences of asserting, in behalf of Negroes or civil rights workers, constitutional rights repugnant to much of the white community.

3. POLICE-MINORITY GROUP COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The third area of concern is police-minority group community relations. This is primarily an urban problem most pronounced in the North and West but with grave implications for the entire Nation. Substantial numbers of minority group citizens who reside in these urban areas complain bitterly about what they consider to be permissive law enforcement, police brutality, discourteous treatment, improper arrest and detention practices, and discriminatory personnel policies. Hundreds of thousands of ghetto residents see the police as their enemy. Many urban riots of the last few years—Philadelphia, Harlem, Watts, Los Angeles—were sparked by incidents involving the police and the police became the principal target of the rioters.

Police-minority group community relations problems in our urban centers are deep and complex. Positive steps must be taken to deal with them.

Nor should we overlook the fact that fairer and more professional police departments will be more able to cope with the rising incidence of street crime.

I. PROTECTION OF NEGROES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS FROM INTIMIDATION

SUPPORT OF TITLE V OF THE ADMINISTRATION BILL

There should be broad support of Title V of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill, which would provide greater Federal protection to Negroes and civil rights workers from intimidation.

The problem of guaranteeing protection for Negroes and their supporters in the deep South who seek to exercise Federal rights was faced by post-Civil War Congresses. A series of civil rights bills aimed at this problem were enacted. However, subsequent Congressional amendments and court decisions have largely emasculated these civil and criminal statutes. Today, they are weak weapons with which to fight racial violence and other racial intimidation where local authorities are unwilling to do so. Three major difficulties in applying these statutes have come from court opinions which: (a) require, in a prosecution for violation of the criminal statutes, a showing of "specific intent," amounting almost to a demand that the Federal Government prove that the assailant actually had in mind not only illegal violence, but also an intent to deprive the victim of a specific constitutional right; (b) declare that the statutes do not apply to acts by private individuals when there is no color of state law; and (c) hold that the statutes do not provide protection for all Federal rights, but only for certain limited ones.

On March 28, 1966, as the Administration was preparing its bill to submit to Congress, the Supreme Court handed down two significant decisions, *United States* v. *Price* and *United States* v. *Guest,* which bear on these Federal civil rights statutes. The impact of these decisions is not yet certain. However, there was some clarification. First, the present civil rights statutes dealing with violence—18 U.S.C. 241 and 242—provide protection for all rights included in the Federal Constitution. Thus, any future statute could provide such extensive coverage. Second, a majority of the court appears ready to rule that the Federal Government, under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment, has the power to pass a statute that would penalize private presons whose actions interfere with any Fourteenth Amendment right.

With this background, the Administration has drafted Title V of its Civil Rights Bill of 1966—a statute imposing criminal penalties to deter and punish interference by force or threat of force with activities protected by Federal law or the Constitution. The areas of protected activity are enumerated specifically in the Bill. They are voting, public accommodations, public education, public services and facilities, employment, housing, jury service, use of common carriers, and participation in Federally assisted programs.

Title V is designed to punish persons who injure, intimidate, or interfere with persons because of their race, color, religion, or national origin while they are engaging or attempting to engage in these protected activities. The statute would also punish violence or intimidation intended to discourage persons from engaging in the protected activities. Under this provision, intimidation of persons who have not been involved in civil rights activty would be punished if the victim were selected in order to discourage others from exercising the protected rights.

The new law also would cover intimidation and violence directed at persons who urge or aid others to participate in the protected activity, or who engage in speech or peaceful assembly opposing the denial of the opportunity to engage in the protected activity. The statute would protect, among others, officials or other persons, such as voting registrars, restaurant owners, and employees, who have the duty to afford the rights involved.

An important feature is a provision for graduated penalties in accordance with the seriousness of the *result* of the violation. For example: if death results, the violator may be imprisoned for life; if bodily injury short of death occurs, the violator may receive a maximum sentence of ten years and a $10,000 fine; if no personal injury results, the violator is subject to a maximum prison term of one year and a maximum fine of $1,000.

Sections 241 and 242 are not eliminated from the Code. Rather they are left as alternative bases for prosecution, but each is amended to make its penalty provisions roughly comparable to those outlined above.

Title V should be helpful in affording a much firmer basis for Federal criminal prosecution of perpetrators of racial violence. It will also enable the F.B.I. to determine more precisely when a violation of Federal criminal civil rights statutes has taken place and so be better prepared to take appropriate action.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION TO ASSURE COMPENSATION TO VICTIMS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE

No remedy is complete if it does not make the victim whole. The Administration bill provides more effective criminal penalties against racially motivated violence and offers the promise of juries more likely to convict the guilty. But there remains a need for more effective remedies than those now on the books for assuring compensation to those who are injured by racial violence. The lack of effective civil remedies has been documented in many studies, most particularly in the 1961 Report of the Commission on Civil Rights. Legislation should be enacted to assure that victims of private racial violence will be compensated for physical injuries and personal property losses.

(1) Enactment of legislation giving persons who suffer physical injury or property loss as the result of exercising rights protected by the criminal provisions of Title V of the Administration Bill, or as the result of urging or aiding others to exercise such rights, an opportunity to receive compensation for the injury or loss. The remedy could be either a right of action in Federal court or a right to submit the complaint to an administrative tribunal.

Current Federal law (42 U.S.C. 1985 (3)) is inadequate to enable persons who are injured by private persons in the course of exercising Federally protected rights to bring suits for money damages in Federal court. Section 1985(3) is applicable only to conspiracies. Also, the Supreme Court has indicated that action not under color of law (that is, not by local governmental officials or employees) requires proof of conspiracy to deprive a person of "the equal protection of the law, or of equal privileges and immunities under the law." It is thus highly questionable whether the existing statute reaches acts of private persons. A new law is needed to give persons who suffer physical injury or property loss as the result of exercising any of the specific rights protected by the criminal provisions of Title V of the Administration Bill, or as the result of urging or aiding others to exercise such rights, a right of action for money damages against those responsible for the injury or loss. Another remedy is contained in the Douglas-Case bill which would create an indemnification board within the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Its function would be to examine complaints of unlawful violence and, in appropriate instances, to grant money damages to the persons injured.

(2) Amendment of Section 1983 of Title 42 of the United States Code to provide that any county government, city govern-

ment, or other local government entity that employs officers who deprive persons of rights protected by Section 1983 shall be jointly liable with the officers to persons who suffer injury or loss from such officers' misconduct.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights in a recent report found that law enforcement officers in certain communities had arrested and abused victims of racial violence, had frequently arrested civil rights workers for petty offenses or on unsubstantiated charges, had frequently interfered with the exercise of the right to assemble peacefully, to make grievances known, had failed to protect civil rights demonstrators against hostile and angry crowds, and had subjected civil rights participants to intolerable jail conditions designed to inflict punishment—all in violation of the United States Constitution.

Section 1983 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code authorizes the Federal court to grant relief in money damages to any person deprived under color of law of any right, privilege, or immunity secured by the Constitution. Under this section, a person who has suffered personal injury or property loss as a result of conduct by a local law enforcement officer which is in violation of the Constitution may sue that officer in Federal court and obtain financial compensation. The victim of official misconduct may be stymied, however, in his effort to obtain financial compensation from the individual official responsible for his loss if the official has insufficient funds to make full retribution. Section 1983 should be amended to make any county government, city government, or local entity that employs officials who deprive persons of rights protected by Section 1983, jointly liable with the officers to the victims of such officers' misconduct. Such legislation was recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights in 1961, 1963 and 1965. Aside from assuring the recovery of sufficient funds to compensate for the loss, the legislation would have the additional value of encouraging local governmental entities to assume, more realistically, their responsibility for hiring responsible officers and for controlling them properly.

EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST, IN HIS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS OF APRIL 29, 1966, FOR MORE FEDERAL AGENTS TO INCREASE THE EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS

The panel on the Administration of Justice at the Planning Session recommended that the President of the United States immediately implement a recommendation of the United States Commission on Civil Rights which called for greater Federal involvement in local law enforcement in certain southern communities where there had been or was likely to be substantial racial violence. Since that time the Supreme Court has decided the *Guest* and *Price* cases; the Administration has submitted to Congress a civil rights bill containing new criminal provisions designed to deter and punish interference by force or threat of force with activities protected by the Constitution or other Federal law, and the President, in his message of April 29, 1966, called upon Congress to "authorize an appropriation providing for another 100 F.B.I. agents and additional supporting personnel—to strengthen our capacity to deal with civil rights crimes." The President stated that "the Federal Government has its responsibilities to see that Federal rights are secured and their transgressors brought to justice," and that "we shall meet these responsibilities."

The Supreme Court decisions, Title V of the Administration Bill, and the President's request, if favorably considered, should have a significant impact on law enforcement in areas where there is a tendency toward racial violence. The extent of the impact of these recent developments cannot be assessed accurately at this time. We should support the President's request for additional F.B.I. men.

Additionally, given the large number of public institutions affected by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, (including five or six thousand health care facilities in the South alone, as well as schools, welfare programs, etc.) a large, well trained group of compliance officials are needed to assure obedience to the law. This would increase inspection, personal contact with the Negro community, and assist public officials responsible for attaining desegregation.

II. EQUAL JUSTICE

SUPPORT FOR TITLES I AND II OF ADMINISTRATION BILL: NON-DISCRIMINATION IN JUROR SELECTION

(1) Support for Titles I and II of the Administration Bill which provide for non-discrimination in the selection of Federal and state jurors.

Title I of the Administration's Bill has as its basic objective the assurance that Federal grand and petit jurors be drawn from a broad cross section of the community. There are four key features:

a) No person or class of persons shall be denied the right to serve on grand or petit juries in *Federal* courts on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

b) Voter registration rolls become the exclusive source from which names of prospective jurors are drawn, except where voter rolls reflect discrimination.

c) Detailed compulsory procedures are specified for the selection of names from basic sources, and for each subsequent step in the selection process.

d) A special method is provided for determining whether jury officials have followed the prescribed procedures.

This proposal bars "blue ribbon" juries. It meets the critical objective of drawing Federal jurors from the broadest possible cross section of the community by overcoming the most basic problem: finding a generally available source of names that is broadly representative of the population of the judicial district by race, color, religion, sex, national origin, and economic status. The proposal relies upon the voting rolls maintained by state officials and Federal examiners on the theory that these rolls reflect a full and fair cross section of the community in most areas. It thus assumes that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 will assure an early end to racial discrimination in the registration process.

Because an interim period of discrimination may exist, there is a special provision for areas where Negroes or other groups are still not fairly represented on the voter rolls.

There, the judicial council of the circuit (the Federal appellate court judges), may designate other sources of names. Additionally, there is an important requirement that names be taken *at random,* from the voting rolls.

The bill retains the qualifications prescribed by present law, i.e., a juror must be 21 years old, a citizen residing in the judicial district, free of any serious mental and physical disabilities, and not convicted of a serious crime (unless pardoned), and able to read, write, speak, and understand English. The determination whether a person is able to meet the latter qualification is to be based solely on a standard juror qualification form. A person who is able to fill out the form substantially, who stated on the form that he is able to read, write, speak, and understand the English language, and who satisfies the remaining qualifications, must be found qualified to serve. Subjective judgments about the competence of jurors, such as intelligence and good character, are forbidden. Once a person is found qualified, his name is placed in a "qualified juror wheel," and subsequently, if his name is drawn, he is assigned to participate on grand or petit jury panels.

There are provisions for assuring that selection procedures in both criminal and civil cases are followed. Non-compliance can be raised prior to the introduction of any evidence at trial. If there is some evidence of non-compliance, the challenging party is given access to the relevant records and papers of the jury commission which are otherwise confidential. If the Court finds non-compliance, it may dismiss the indictment or stay the proceedings until a proper jury is selected. Actual prejudice need not be shown by the challenger.

The bill would change significantly the present law governing exclusions and excuses from jury service, the theory being that jury duty is an obligation of citizenship. Excuses are only to be granted on an individual basis and then only for a six month period in cases of "unusually severe hardship."

Title II of the Administration Bill is designed to eliminate all forms of unconstitutional discrimination in the selection of juries in state courts. In contrast to Title I, which deals with Federal courts, Title II does not prescribe any specific procedure to be followed in selecting jurors. The states can continue to use any seemingly valid jury selection methods until a Federal court determines that such methods have operated in a discriminatory manner.

There are three essential provisions:

First, discrimination in state jury selection processes on account of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, or economic status is prohibited. Second, the Attorney General is authorized to enforce the prohibition by civil injunctive proceedings against state jury officials. Third, a discovery mechanism is provided to ease determinations as to whether unlawful discrimination has occurred.

The Attorney General is authorized to sue for preventive relief in Federal courts when he has grounds to believe that state jury officials are violating the provision against jury discrimination. This is a power similar to those he already has explicitly with respect to voting, public accommodations, and employment. Also, this bill specifies certain types of relief which the Federal Courts can grant in suits brought either by the Attorney General or by private individuals, such as suspending state procedures which are used for discrimination, and even prescribing objective criteria for determining qualifications, requiring state jury officials to maintain detailed records, and appointing a special master to take over the functions of the state jury officials. These types of judicial relief are not novel and are akin to those operative in the voting area today.

The special discovery procedure assures that one can ascertain whether or not discrimination has occurred in the jury selection process. This procedure is available both to the Attorney General and to private litigants as well as to a defendant in a criminal case. When an individual asserts that there has been discrimination, the state or local officials must furnish a written statement describing jury selection and how the names were secured. This in turn will become evidence of whether the jury has been fairly selected and the party who complains may not only cross examine, but may present other evidence to support his charge. The Bill contains a specific provision making the destruction or concealing of official evidence a Federal crime punishable by $1,000 fine or one year in prison or both.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION TO SECURE EQUAL JUSTICE IN AREAS OTHER THAN JURIES

(1) Enactment of Federal legislation to provide for the removal of civil rights cases from state to Federal trial courts in order to assure a fair trial.

The Administration Bill does not contain a provision for the removal of cases from a state to a Federal trial court. The Planning Session participants considered a removal provision as one of several elements that might be included in a new civil rights bill. In those instances where other measures to secure a non-discriminatory trial fail, removal of the case to a Federal court may be the only alternative. At the present time removal of a case from a state to a Federal court is difficult to accomplish unless it is based upon an invalid state statute.

There are a number of different approaches which have been suggested to the Congress. The Administration takes the position that it has recently participated in two cases in the Supreme Court, *Rachel* v. *Georgia,* and *Peacock* v. *City of Greenwood,* which would, if decided as the Justice Department desires, expand removal beyond unlawful state statutes. There is no assurance, however, that the Supreme Court will adopt a broad reading of the existing removal statute. The importance of removal in civil rights cases seems to warrant, therefore, legislation to provide for the removal of cases from a state to a Federal trial court in any local criminal prosecution or civil or criminal contempt proceeding where the person prosecuted is a member of a group which is discriminated against in the administration of justice. Discrimination in the administration of justice would be established by proof of jury discrimination, voting discrimination affecting elections at which the prosecuting attorney or judge of the prosecuting governmental unit is elected, discrimination in any of the facilities of the administration of justice, such as the courts or the jails, or discrimination in sentencing, setting of bail, or terms of release.

There should also be provision for the removal of cases, civil or criminal, from a state court to a Federal district court where the prosecution or proceeding is maintained as a result of the exercise of First Amendment rights in advocating racial equality or protesting the denial of racial equality, or where the prosecution or proceeding is maintained for any act or omission protected by the Constitution or Federal laws against interferences by reason of race or color. Such a provision would enable civil rights advocates and persons attempting to exercise constitutional or other Federally protected rights who are arrested by local authorities, because of their civil rights participation, to remove their prosecutions to a Federal forum for trial.

The foregoing removal provisions are incorporated in the Douglas Bill (S. 2923) and the Kennedy-Javits Bill (S. 3170).

(2) Enactment of Federal legislation to permit private persons to obtain injunctive relief where state prosecutions are brought against persons for exercising First Amendment rights directed at obtaining equal treatment for all citizens regardless of race, color, religion or national origin.

A Federal statute (28 U.S.C. 2283) prevents a Federal court, unless expressly authorized by Act of Congress, from enjoining state court proceedings at the behest of individuals. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 and the public accommodations title of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 have been held to authorize such injunctions where the state court proceeding is based on conduct protected by that title. But there is no statute which at present "specifically authorizes" an injunction against state criminal prosecutions brought against persons for exercising other protected rights, including First Amendment rights directed at obtaining equal treatment for all citizens regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin. In its 1965 Law Enforcement Report, the United States Commission on Civil Rights recommended that Congress amend 42 U.S.C. 1983 to create such authorization for suits involving First Amendment rights. The Kennedy-Javits Bill (S. 3170) incorporates that provision as well as protection of the rights given by the Civil Rights Act. Title 3 of the Douglas-Case Bill has a similar provision.

(3) Enactment of Federal legislation to afford more adequate criminal sanctions against state and local officials who deprive citizens of constitutional rights.

Section 242 of the Federal Criminal Code prohibits state and local officials from willfully depriving citizens of their Constitutional rights. It is the provision now used by the Federal Government to prosecute law enforcement officials for police brutality, instances of which are found in the North as well as the South. As judicially construed, however, a prosecution under Section 242 requires a showing of "specific intent" by the defendant to deprive the victim of recognized Constitutional rights. This requirement stems from the concern of the Supreme Court that in the absence of such a requirement that statute, which forbids the willful deprivation of "due process" rights, would impose no ascertainable standard of guilt.

The need to establish "specific intent" has been a serious barrier to Federal criminal prosecutions for civil rights violence. While Title V corrects this problem with respect to interferences with equal protection rights (e.g. public facilities, voting), the problem is not remedied with respect to denials of due process rights by law enforcement officials. The Administration Bill therefore should be amended to enumerate specific due process rights, interference with which would constitute a crime. In 1961, the United States Commission on Civil Rights recommended such a statutory revision, suggesting that Congress enact a companion provision to 18 U.S.C. 242 making the penalties of that statute applicable to those who maliciously perform under color of law certain described acts, including the following:

a) subjecting any person to physical injury for an unlawful purpose;

b) subjecting any person to unnecessary force during the course of arrest or while the person is being held;

c) subjecting any person to violence or unlawful restraints in the course of eliciting a confession to a crime or any other information;

d) subjecting any person to violence or unlawful restraints for the purpose of obtaining anything of value;

e) refusing to provide protection to any person from unlawful violence at the hands of private persons knowing that such violence was planned or was then taking place;

f) aiding or assisting private persons in any way to carry out acts of unlawful violence.

UNDERTAKE EFFORTS TO ASSURE ADEQUATE LEGAL REPRESENTATION FOR NEGROES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS IN CONTROVERSIAL CASES

(1) Law schools and bar associations, including the American Bar Association, should take steps to assure zealous representation by local counsel of Negroes and civil rights workers.

Law schools and bar associations bear a large share of the responsibility for the inability of Negroes and civil rights workers in the South to receive adequate representation in controversial cases. These bodies create the standards of the profession, both legally and practically. If they made it clear to their students, members, and the public that lawyers have an obligation to provide a vigorous defense in all cases—regardless of whether they involve Negroes or unpopular causes—individual lawyers might be less reluctant to accept such cases. The law schools and the bar associations should be urged to assume responsibility in this area.

Additionally, it is sometimes impossible for citizens to obtain lawful and civilized treatment in minor criminal and civil matters. Magistrates in the cities, municipal court judges in the towns, and justices of the peace in rural localities are frequently untrained for their jobs, politically-dominated and surrounded by an atmosphere which makes every appearance before them undignified at best. Often they are paid for their services under fee systems or cost systems which give them a financial interest in the very cases which they must decide.

It is these courts, as a practical matter, which administer the law in the communities and lives of our racial minorities and underprivileged populations. It is these courts, rather than the courts of record, to which they must largely look for the administration of justice and for understanding of the spirit of our laws. Ignorance and partiality in these courts deprive countless numbers of citizens of legal protection and give them ample cause to disrespect the law.

Improvement of these courts is therefore the indispensable condition of equal protection of the law in our society. No precise formula for their improvement will be workable alike in all cities, towns, and rural areas. But at the least the states and local governments must require that the judges of the minor courts be legally trained, selected by methods which assure their insulation from political pressure, compensated adequately by means which do not bias their decisions, and provided with the physical surroundings and supporting personnel which befit a court of justice.

(2) Establishment of legal aid centers by the Federal Government to provide adequate legal representation to Negroes and civil rights workers.

In those areas of the country where Negroes and civil rights workers are not being provided adequate legal representation, the Federal Government should consider establishing legal aid centers so that competent counsel will be available. These centers might be similar to the neighborhood legal service centers established under the poverty program to handle both civil and criminal cases. Lawyers employed by the center would be employed on a full time basis, thereby reducing public pressure.

III. IMPROVEMENT OF POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD SEEK TO IMPROVE POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS BY ESTABLISHING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN THE AREAS OF RECRUITMENT, TESTING, SELECTION, TRAINING, ORGANIZATION AND PAY

Improvement of police-community relations should be sought through the efforts of the Federal Government, the states, local governments, and private groups. In line with a recommendation first made by the United States Commission on Civil Rights in 1961, the Federal Government now is engaged in an experimental program aimed at improving the quality of state and local police forces and other agencies of justice. The Office of Law Enforcement Assistance of the Department of Justice has the responsibility for administering this program. Its first appropriation for a partial year of operation was $7.2 million, and the President has proposed to increase this to $13.7 million for the next fiscal year. It seems doubtful that either $7.2 million or $13.7 million will be adequate to accomplish the objective, given the scope of the problem. Any such Federal program must expend greater effort and money in dealing with the urgent problems underlying the explosive state of police-community relations in many of our urban ghettos.

The Federal program should have the following objectives:

(1) to determine and establish the requisite qualifications for a police officer in an urban or rural community;

(2) to improve techniques of recruitment, testing, and screening, thereby increasing the likelihood that policemen will be selected who can perform their duties on a nondiscriminatory basis and who can be effective within the context of the myriad pressures that affect policemen in a time of social and legal change;

(3) to alter the patterns of police organization, advancement, and pay, so that more of our superior young people are attracted to careers in the police profession;

(4) to provide scholarships or other methods by which college-level training can

be provided for police officers and by which college-educated persons may be brought into police forces at levels significantly above that of patrolman;

(5) to improve police training, both at the entry and in-service levels, in human relations and Constitutional rights, as well as in techniques of effectively enforcing the law;

(6) to assist police departments in modernizing their entire organization and administration so as to take advantage of modern business methods as well as the latest findings of science in apprehending offenders;

(7) to provide grants and assistance to aid government and private organizations and individuals in achieving the goals outlined below.

STEPS TO BE TAKEN BY STATES TO IMPROVE POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

While the states and localities may look to the Federal Government for financial assistance and support, this will not be enough. The states and localities themselves must take action in those areas in which success will depend upon their initiative. The states should take the following steps, which should be made conditions of Federal assistance:

(1) Initiation of a positive and aggressive campaign to recruit and hire qualified minority group personnel for the state highway patrol and other state law enforcement bodies. The minority group personnel should be fully integrated into the law enforcement units.

(2) Establishment of minimum state standards for all police officers, enforced through uniform state tests and licenses.

(3) Provision for periodic training programs in both skills and attitudes for all police officers to improve their professional techniques of law enforcement.

(4) Provision for periodic training for police officers who are continuing their education or who have graduated from college.

(5) Assistance to localities in developing better police forces; the assistance should include guidance in taking advantage of Federal as well as state programs in this field—e.g., it should help the smaller police departments in preparing applications for Federal funds and in helping its men to prepare to pass state licensing tests.

STEPS TO BE TAKEN BY LOCALITIES TO IMPROVE POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The major burden for improving police-community relations rests on the local governments. These governments should undertake the following steps, which also should be made conditions for Federal grants-in-aid:

(1) Upgrading of Police Organization, Equipment and Facilities.

In those instances where the equipment, organization, and physical facilities of the local police department are outmoded, as is often the case, the responsible local officials should recognize that general obsolescence tends to contribute to aggravated relations between police and citizens, for it prevents the police from doing their job effectively. Accordingly, suffiient financial and other support should be given to efforts to improve the basic structure of the police department.

(2) Establishment of an Adequate Complaint Procedure.

Reports persist of police misconduct in many communities with substantial numbers of minority group citizens. Local officials should take action to assure that there is an adequate procedure whereby a citizen may file a complaint of such misconduct. At the least this procedure should provide a basis for the belief that the complainant will be fairly and properly treated, that his complaint will be promptly heard and investigated, that disciplinary action will be taken against the offending officer in appropriate cases, and that the complainant will be informed of the disposition of his complaint. In instances it may be necessary to establish a police-citizens advisory board to restore confidence in the complaint process.

(3) Definition of the Role That the Police Department Is Expected To Play in the Community.

Local officials should undertake an educational program in the community to create understanding of what a police department traditionally has been expected to do and what is expected of the police department at the present time. In most urban areas the Negro community believes that the white community is using the police department as its subtle weapon to keep the Negro in his ghetto and in his place, and to perpetuate a distorted image of the amount of crime in ghetto areas. We are at the point where this unpleasant fact should surface and where the entire community, led by the officials, should seek to dispel this notion.

(4) Establishment of a Community Relations Unit in the Police Department

Every police department should have a community relations unit. The unit should have a budget and should be commanded by a line police officer who reports directly to the chief of police. The unit's personnel should be rotated periodically. Experience indicates that these units can be effective only where the policeman at large realizes that the individual who is commanding the community relations effort may one day in the near future be commanding the precinct in which he serves.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD ESTABLISH A NATIONAL POLICE CADET TRAINING CORPS

Police departments across the country have recognized that a substantial number of young men who ordinarily would be interested in careers as policemen do not enter such work because they cannot be employed as policemen before they are 21 years old. Most of these men have been graduated from high school and are otherwise qualified for the police force. Some communities have established cadet programs to train these men until they meet the age requirement. A Federal program should make available to all high school graduates between the ages of 19 and 21 who are able to meet prescribed physical and mental requirements for police work, an opportunity to undergo a comprehensive training program in all phases of such work. These men would be given courses in Constitutional law, human relations, and psychology in addition to training in regular police practice and procedures while awaiting full-time employment by a police department. Cadets would then be sent to their respective hometown police departments, where they would serve in such capacities as clerks, typists, and other non-law enforcement capacities, such as automobile ticketers. Upon attaining the age of 21, they would be employed as regular police officers. The program could be financed by the Federal, state, and local governments.

PRIVATE GROUPS SHOULD BE IMPRESSED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY THEY HAVE FOR IMPROVING LAW ENFORCEMENT

Although it is essential that law enforcement agencies take all of the above listed steps, true improvement in this area cannot be made without concerted supportive efforts by private groups and organizations. Businessmen can be shown why police-minority group community relations is the business of the business community, that there is a vital economic interest in the quality of law enforcement, and in the maintenance of mutual respect between the police and members of minority groups. Businessmen must bring to bear on the problems of quality law enforcement and police-community relations the imagination and resourcefulness that have made it possible for them to prosper as businessmen in the community. This active and imaginative support is essential on a continuing basis, not just in time of crisis. One method of accomplishing this objective is to establish a businessmen's interracial committee to work with the police on problems that have been the source of poor police-minority group community relations.

Members of bar associations have special responsibility for improving law enforcement and police-minority group community relations. To begin with, they should look at archaic law enforcement practices and insure that they are brought into conformity with modern police practice and with the latest interpretations of law. In addition, they should form committees to probe deeply into police practices.

The community at large also has an important role to play. Civil rights, civic, social, and religious groups should be brought to the realization that police-minority group community relations is the business of the *entire* community. As a first step, each community should establish a broadly based interracial police-community relations committee to work with the police. Citizens on this committee should come from diverse backgrounds. But in order to be most effective there should be a substantial number of concerned and influential persons from the business community. The committee, through sub-committees, should work with the police in those areas which frequently have been the source of poor police-minority group community relations. The sub-committees could consider, both generally and with specific reference to minority groups, topics such as the following:

(1) Police discourtesy.
(2) Arrest and detention practices.
(3) Slowness in responding to service calls.
(4) Juvenile problems.
(5) Police personnel practices, such as the assignment and promotion of minority personnel.
(6) Permissive law enforcement.
(7) The complaint procedure.

The committee should also take the following actions:

(1) Urge the city to undertake indepen-

dent studies of police law enforcement practices, administration and organization, and to carry out the recommendations once the studies are completed.

(2) Urge the appropriate prosecuting official in the community to hold regular conferences with ranking police officers to appraise them of developments and to review law enforcement practices.

(3) Urge that sufficient money be allocated to the police department so that it can operate at its fully authorized strength and more fully meet its obligations and needs.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The conferees were in basic support of the aims and positions set forth in the Council's Report and Recommendations. While there were a number of proposals which the conferees wished to add, they were designed mainly to supplement the Council's Report.

The participants expressed a strong sense of urgency in calling for Federal, rather than state, action to make use of existing powers, especially under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and vigorous enforcement of available criminal sanctions. The conferees wholeheartedly supported the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1966 but, at the same time, placed heavy emphasis on the need for aggressive implementation of existing laws and intelligent revision of existing policies.

COMMENT ON THE COUNCIL'S REPORT

I. PROTECTION OF NEGROES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS FROM INTIMIDATION

SUPPORT OF TITLE V OF THE ADMINISTRATION BILL

Title V met with general approval; beyond the summary of its terms presented to each committee of conferees by a member of the resource panel, its separate provisions were only briefly discussed.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION TO ASSURE COMPENSATION TO VICTIMS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE

The Council's Report recommended compensation for loss suffered through racial violence or while exercising those rights specificially defined by Title V. Conferees suggested that such a remedy would have to be broadly drawn if it was to cover the broad spectrum of possible injuries which, though not caused by direct violence, might nevertheless result from civil rights activity or assertion of constitutional rights. Some conferees reported that large bail bond premiums or exaggerated charges of misconduct were part of a general police program of reprisals against those engaged in lawful picketing or exercise of First Amendment rights. One suggested a remedy of immediate appeal to challenge exorbitant bail. There was substantial support for the provision of Federal assistance to those evicted or discharged from their jobs as a result of their Civil Rights activities. Provision of court costs and attorney's fees for those involved in criminal or civil litigation to implement or protect Civil Rights was also considered.

The conferees were most concerned with the general goal that those persons suffering injury should have a prompt and effective Federal remedy rather than the actual form the remedy might take. Therefore, no preference was expressed as between the suggested alternatives of a civil court action or an administrative remedy. Some conferees recommended that if the Federal Government made payment to injured persons it should then, in turn, have a cause of action against those who were responsible for the injury. One expressed the hope that the assurance of an effective Federal remedy might diminish the reluctance of rural Negroes to make complaints. If counties and municipalities were also held jointly liable for the acts of their officials, some believed it might strongly influence them to raise their standards for the hiring and training of local police.

EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS

The conferees were deeply concerned with the effective enforcement of Civil Rights laws already on the books. The Council had recommended greater Federal involvement in local law enforcement where racial violence occurred, mentioning specifically the recent *Guest* and *Price* decisions and the Administration's support for Title V, and noting approvingly the President's request for funds to employ more FBI agents. In recognition of this increasing Executive concern for the problem, the Council added to its brief summary a suggestion that a large, well-trained compliance force would be needed to enforce Title VI.

The conferees were more emphatic and pressed for more specific Federal action. In every section they rose to describe recent violence or open defiance of the 1964 Act committed in the presence of Federal officials or reported to them either at the time of the acts or shortly thereafter.

A mother from South Carolina summed up the anguish of the Southern conferees:

". . . my house has been shot in several times—we have been shot at—in fact, our life was in danger.

"We called the FBI, and when they come in and take notes, he said that . . . 'it's not in my hands; I can't go out and investigate this thing. The only thing that we are supposed to do is just take notes of what happened.'

"Why I'm speaking as I am is because the same thing that has happened in the past is continuing to happen right now, and in my county even my mail is being destroyed. I call the FBI and even tell them who are doing these things, and they say: "Have you notified the local authorities?"

The conferees' consensus was that existing law is not being adequately enforced. Several panels heard speakers call for Federal assumption of responsibility for local law enforcement either temporarily through military occupation, by substitution of U.S. marshals for state or local police, or through constitutional amendment, by creation of a permanent Federal police force. The Department of Justice was criticized repeatedly for failure to bring prosecutions where evidence indicated official misconduct.

The Council's proposal for increasing the number of FBI agents prompted a number of conferees to attack FBI arrest practices as well as the attitudes and behavior of FBI agents. They indicated awareness of the need for cooperation between the FBI and local law enforcement officials in much of their non-civil rights work, and acknowledged that under certain circumstances FBI agents would be outnumbered by the local law enforcement officials whose conduct might justify arrest. Nevertheless, they repeatedly asked for prompt action by the President or the Attorney General to reverse the existing Department of Justice policy against on-the-scene arrests for violations of Civil Rights laws. Conferees complained of FBI unconcern and apparent lack of sympathy for Negro problems. They asked for statistics on the number of Negro agents employed by the FBI, demanding that racial data on FBI employment be published separately from the overall Department of Justice figures and that Negroes be recruited to fill a substantial portion of the hundred new agents' positions requested by the President.

One delegate suggested police-community relations conferences between the FBI and the citizens who had lost confidence in the agency, and another that FBI agents receive psychological testing to detect racial prejudice.

A few conferees asked for the resignation of J. Edgar Hoover, congressional investigation of the FBI, or that the criminal sanctions against violation of Civil Rights by state officials be made applicable to Federal officials.

Others called for the creation of a new Civil Rights investigation force which would supersede the FBI in investigation of facts related to Civil Rights controversies.

While discussing Title VI enforcement, the conferees were informed that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has had more than $900,000 of its request for funds to support its civil rights enforcement efforts stricken from its budget for fiscal year 1967 by the House of Representatives. They called for the President to use every effort to obtain restoration of the funds, and for Congress to allot sufficient funds for all Civil Rights enforcement.

II. EQUAL JUSTICE

SUPPORT FOR LEGISLATION REQUIRING NON-DISCRIMINATION IN JURY SELECTION

Conferees generally concurred with the aims and procedures of Titles I and II of the Administration bill, but a number took exception to the requirement of literacy as a qualification for jury service. Some noted that under existing practices in many states, literacy is not actually required. A conferee from Mississippi said:

"It really isn't funny, when you consider illiterate white people have served on juries

for a hundred or so years, and carried out their true form of justice.

"Illiteracy rate is very high, extremely high, and Negroes, illiterate Negroes, were never considered for jury duty. And I repeat . . . justice was being served to them by illiterate whites for a very long time. I think we really ought to think about this. What does it take to serve on a jury?"

There was considerable anxiety that, if literacy were allowed as a qualification for jury service, the low median education level of Negroes, in some states with a history of segregated education, would become a congressionally endorsed barrier against jury participation by Negroes.

During discussion of Title II there was some support for the enforcement provisions of the Douglas-Case Bill which would permit the transfer of state jury selection procedures to a Federal official for a limited period of time. One conferee noted that in a pending jury exclusion case, a Federal District Judge had already indicated a willingness to use a Federal referee to conduct jury selection.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION TO SECURE EQUAL JUSTICE IN AREAS OTHER THAN JURY SELECTION

The Council proposal would permit removal from a state to a Federal trial court in any criminal prosecution or contempt proceeding where the defendant is a member of a group which suffers discrimination or where the activity occasioning the litigation is one protected by the Constitution or Federal statute.

Several persons requested that where Federal District Courts in the specific state are not satisfactory tribunals for cases involving racial issues provision be made, by constitutional amendment if necessary, for change of venue to the District Court of another state or the District of Columbia in order to obtain both fair treatment of defendants and effective prosecution of persons accused of crimes of racial violence.

Though a number of conferees expressed concern over the failure of the Federal Government to prosecute police brutality under existing laws, there was little discussion of the Council's recommendation to permit injunctions against state criminal proceedings or to provide additional criminal sanctions against state officials who deprive citizens of due process of law.

LEGAL REPRESENTATION FOR NEGROES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS

Some conferees felt that the Council seemed primarily concerned with problems in the South. The Conference discussions themselves dealt with lawyers' refusals to represent Negroes and Civil Rights workers and failure to provide adequate legal aid service for the poor in all parts of the country.

The Council had urged that bar associations and law schools encourage lawyers to appear on behalf of unpopular causes and clients. Several conferees recommended the use of public funds to provide such defense as an alternative to reliance upon the bar. They chided those bar associations and legal aid agencies which oppose neighborhood legal service centers. The Council suggestion of Federally supported legal aid centers was favorably received, as was an alternative proposal that the Federal Government contribute substantially to the several private agencies for legal assistance that have traditionally supported minority groups and unpopular causes.

There was general concern with inequities in the administration of justice as it affects the poor. A suggested remedy was that all defendants in criminal proceedings be represented throughout by public defenders. Conferees were also concerned that legal assistance be available in civil matters as well, such as landlord-tenant and domestic relations problems. Such assistance might be extended in the South to Negroes dealing with such Federal administrative agencies as the Small Business Administration and the Federal Housing Administration. One conferee drew attention to the basic landlord-tenant structure which generally allows summary eviction proceedings for nonpayment of rent, but does not allow the tenant to raise the issue of failure of service by the landlord.

Legal scholarships for students willing to practice in neighborhood law offices for a number of years were proposed. Some conferees requested Federal legislation to set uniform bail standards for specified offenses, while others supported pending Federal and state legislation intended to expand the practice of release of prisoners under their own recognizance. Similar support was manifested for the issuance of summonses for minor crimes rather than making arrests.

Criminal procedures were criticized. It was proposed that criminal defendants be given the same opportunity for pre-trial discovery against the prosecutor as is available to civil litigants—and that legal services to the indigent defendant include the services of investigators as well as lawyers. Some conferees recommended that the Federal Government provide by statute for expunging the criminal record of first offenders after some reasonable period of time.

"No-knock," and *"stop-and-frisk"* laws, vagrancy laws, and arrests for investigation were opposed as denying due process as well as serving as legislative protection for discriminatory law enforcement procedures. A Federal code regulating all search and seizure procedure was suggested.

III. IMPROVEMENT OF POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN RECRUITMENT, TESTING, SELECTION, TRAINING, ORGANIZATION, AND PAY

There was considerable support for the Council's proposal for establishment of Federal standards for police conduct and eligibility for police work.

Conferees mentioned the need for improved police training, especially in the area of human relations. Some suggested withholding Federal funds available for such programs unless there is an adequate training program and a civilian review board. One conferee noted that police departments are severely limited in the funds available for employing civilian instructors in police academies. Another proposed that every police cadet should serve an internship in a slum area to gain an insight into the underlying economic and social problems and individual needs of the residents. Human relations training for older office supervisory personnel was also urged.

STEPS TO BE TAKEN BY STATES

The Council's proposals for state action concentrated on the recruitment of Negro policemen. The conferees repeatedly voiced their concern with the exclusion of Negroes from all levels of police work.

STEPS TO BE TAKEN BY LOCALITIES

1. Upgrading of police organization.

Several conferees said that raising the pay standards of police officers was among the most urgent of the preliminary steps needed. Draft deferment was proposed as a possible means of assisting police recruitment.

2. Establishment of an adequate complaint procedure.

A civilian review board was considered an unqualified necessity by almost all who voiced their views, except those few who were concerned with an even more fundamental redesigning of local police departments.

Conferees were also concerned that such a board should be adequately staffed with civilian employees, for which Federal financial assistance was suggested. Several conferees proposed establishment of an office of "*ombudsman*" or some equivalent to ensure adequate prosecution of complaints. Others were concerned with the need for drawing the membership of such boards from all economic and social groups.

3. Definition of the police department's role in the community.

Several of the panels heard opinions that a basic change was needed in order to overcome existing attitudes of mutual suspicion and increasing alienation existing both in the Negro community and in the minds of the police themselves. As a spokesman from a large Northern city put it:

"I would suggest the type of change we need in our police force is in the role the police should play in today's society. First, they should de-emphasize the military structure of the police force. I'm sorry to point out that some people think of the police as an occupying army, an enemy. The role this type of enforcement agency should play in our society is that of service, their role should be broadened and we should emphasize police services rather than police force. Essentially what I'm calling for is some integration of enforcement officials into a broader organization of community services, community services which cover medical services, welfare services, psychological services, some core of people which serve the people in this city and in the rural areas and across the nation . . . as individuals they can't get and as human beings they have a right to have. . . . There should be no community-police relationships, there should be community-community relationships."

The assistant chief inspector of police from a major city affirmed that, in fact, most policemen's time is spent in rendering community service, while apprehending and arresting law violators occupies a comparatively small proportion of police work.

4. Establishment of a community-relations unit.

Although there was no opposition to this proposal, some conferees felt it would be important to involve ranking police officers in the command of such a unit; others felt that civilian leadership was necessary to ensure that the operation would not be reduced to a mere publicity office.

THE NEED FOR CHANGE IN POLICE ATTITUDES TOWARD CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY

A conferee from a Northern city indicated that police opposition to Civil Rights activity is not limited to Southern law enforcement officials and called for Federal action to remedy the problem:

"I listened to my brother from Mississippi on the conduct of police southern style, and I can give him some consolation in that we have some harassment by the police northern style. We have had . . . all kinds of interference from the police. This takes various forms. One is to have pictures taken of everybody that is demonstrating; where the police have a photography department; where the men taking the picture comes very close to each individual demonstrator, . . . the police chief . . . admitted that the pictures were taken by his orders. The police also in uniform methodically go about taking the auto license of people who drive up in the station wagon bringing people to demonstrate or demonstrating themselves. We have what is called . . . the subversive squad, and there are teams of plainclothes policemen who come to the civil rights meetings and sit down and conspicuously take notes when various people are discussing matters or making motions. In addition to this pattern the telephone of several of the workers . . . have definitely been tapped, and it has been reported to the telephone company and they say they have no control over it."

INTENSIFIED FEDERAL ATTACK UPON DUAL STANDARDS OF JUSTICE

One participant stated that he was bewildered to see the Council's report describe Southern problems in terms of denial of equal protection and Northern problems as those of police-community relations; denial of equal protection is also a fact in the North. A conferee from Watts expressed his apprehension that the Conference would only result in requests for further Federal spending but no concrete decisions to help the urban poor:

"There is a lot can be done. But when I go home and tell those people what I heard, all I can say is that they gave out a lot of loans, which was understood from the beginning, and gave promises, which was understood from the beginning. And at this point they ask 'How about us,' I am just going to look at them for once and say, 'I didn't hear a word, I didn't hear a word.' "

There was concern voiced that, at every step of law enforcement and the administration of justice, from the police officer who stops a driver for a traffic violation to the parole board which releases a prisoner from his sentence, there is a difference in the way Negroes and whites are treated. Conferees asserted that there are differences in the way Negroes are spoken to, handled during arrest, and sentenced, in the bonds that are set for them, in the cells to which they are assigned, in the prison jobs they are given, and in the length of time they serve.

One conferee asked that the United States Commission on Civil Rights undertake or sponsor comparative statistical studies of bail amounts, rates of conviction, sentencing and parole of Negroes and whites charged with similar offenses. Others wanted more Department of Justice prosecutions for police brutality.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD ESTABLISH A NATIONAL POLICE CADET TRAINING CORPS

One conferee suggested that, as part of the effort to raise the number of Negro young men qualifying for police positions, the Federal Government should include compensatory academic training in this program wherever necessary. Another said that arbitrary arrests gave Negro boys youthful offender records which barred many who were interested in police work from applying for it, and that any absolute disqualifications because of previous arrest or conviction should be lifted.

PRIVATE ACTION

One panelist suggested that, in order to begin improvement of the police force, the Negro community must encourage young Negro men to enter police service despite the distaste which they, their families, and their friends might have for the police. There was criticism in several committees of the Council's failure to express the need for a fundamental change in attitude on the part of all citizens respecting race in all circumstances, ranging from marriage to law enforcement.

NEW MATTERS RAISED BY THE CONFERENCE

PARTICIPATION OF NEGROES IN LAW ENFORCEMENT AND IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Many conferees expressed disappointment at the failure of the Council to mention the exclusion of Negroes at all levels of state and Federal law enforcement and administration of justice. There were numerous illustrations of the problem as it affected Negroes in the North and the South, both in the state and Federal systems.

A number of proposals were discussed. There was broad support for the Council's proposal to extend Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to cover state and local employment.

Conferees expressed the wish, not only to see Negroes placed on state and local police forces in the South and given the power to arrest white malefactors, but also to end the assignment of Negro police only to Negro districts, and the apparent barriers to promotion, within Northern police forces.

The conferees saw little likelihood that there would be Negro judges and Negro prosecutors in Southern state courtrooms in the near future. But they were anxious to end immediately the all-white court house staffs of stenographers, clerks, and bailiffs with which the Southern judiciary now operate.

With respect to Federal courts in the South, there were repeated and emphatic demands that the President nominate Negroes as judges, United States attorneys, marshals, and clerks.

PROPOSAL ON HEALTH—

COUNCIL'S REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE

In selecting four subjects for discussion at this Conference, the Council recognizes that it has not dealt with every problem which requires remedial action.

The crippling effects of inadequate health services for Negro Americans is a subject which requires special attention.

It will not be possible to deal adequately with this in our two-day meeting, though the roadblocks caused by poor health to better education, housing and jobs may well be brought into the discussions of these subjects.

The problems of providing adequate health services for Negroes are intimately involved in the complex structure of health institutions and services, and can best be dealt with in specific detail within this broader framework. *Therefore, the Council recommends that in the near future a national conference on the special health problems confronted by Negroes and other minorities be specifically and urgently considered.* Some of the major issues that should be considered are as follows:

1. There must be better understanding of the specific causes of the high infant mortality rate and the lower life expectancy among low income Negroes, and there should be developed a comprehensive program for attacking these problems.

2. There must be an improvement in the health services available to Negroes, both in quality and in the method of distribution. In this connection, a study of the efficacy of neighborhood health centers is urged, and there should be a vast expansion of this type of health service which is made available on a coordinated basis to all members of the family, in a single location, and under flexible time schedules.

3. Attention should be paid to greater involvement of Negroes in the delivery of

health services, on both the professional and sub-professional levels.

4. There should be developed more thorough methods of discovering the medical problems of Negro children at an early stage.

5. Although Medicare and Title XIX, providing health care for indigent families, are promising starts, there is an urgent need for expanded medical care for those who cannot afford it.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED DURING THE CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

In using this summary, certain matters should be noted:

In the interests of both time and space, the summary does not reproduce the exact language of the resolutions except in a few instances where such language is identified by quotation marks. In several panels, the resolutions, in any event, were edited and often summarized by the chairman or a resolutions committee. In other instances, it was necessary to deduce the sense of the resolution from what was essentially no more than a statement.

The *"whereas"* clauses or other statements preliminary to a resolution itself have not been summarized, and are only occasionally referred to where the preliminary statements sparked considerable discussion. In several panels, the chairman announced that in voting on a resolution the membership was not approving or endorsing the *"whereas"* clauses or other preliminary statements.

In most cases, the resolutions were adopted unanimously or with no indication by the chairman of any substantial dissent. In those few cases where the issue resulted in a substantial division of view within the panel, the words *"majority vote"* are used.

Resolutions which were defeated, as well as those which were approved are included and so noted. Resolutions which were submitted but never presented to the panel for a vote or an expression of its views are not included.

Unless otherwise indicated the reported resolution was passed by only one panel.

A group of *"General Resolutions"* overlapping or not corresponding to any one section of the Council's Report are listed at the beginning. Thereafter, in each subject area, an attempt has been made to group resolutions under chapter headings corresponding to the Council's Report. Multiple-part and *"other"* resolutions are listed at the end of each section.

GENERAL RESOLUTIONS

That home rule be granted the District of Columbia.

(Adopted by 11 panels.)

That Congress enact a strengthened 1966 Civil Rights bill which in addition to present coverage: 1) provides indemnity for those who suffer injury in the cause of Civil Rights; 2) makes jury provisions more automatic; 3) provides administrative enforcement for the fair housing provisions; 4) applies the equal opportunity provisions of the 1964 law to state and local government employment.

That the $927,000 cut in the budget of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) be restored.

That government departments take more affirmative action to cut off funds from institutions that discriminate, and to assign voting registrars under the Voting Rights Act of 1964.

(This resolution was offered in several panels. It was not voted on, because of time, in 2 others.)

That the President direct the planners of the Conference to redraft the report of the Council and set priorities, a timetable, a budget, etc.

(This resolution was offered in several panels. It was approved in 5, defeated in 2. In one other panel a substitute resolution was approved to ask the Council to develop a budget figure for its programs.)

That the President be strongly urged to use all of his powers to guarantee an end to discrimination.

(Similar resolutions approved by 5 panels.)

That the President be urged to intensify his efforts to bring the Viet Nam conflict to an honorable end so that a greater amount of Federal funds can be devoted to fulfilling these rights.

(Resolution that United States withdraw from Viet Nam ruled out of order, voted down, tabled, or voted out of order in 4 panels.)

(Resolution that United States make equal opportunity for minority citizens its number one priority [passed in 2 panels]; that the space program be given a lower priority than the program to fulfill these rights; that the rise of defense expenditures must not be used to postpone, reduce or deny expenditures to fulfill these rights [Passed in 3 other panels].)

That the President be requested to work with governors, in cooperation with religious and private groups, to have state conferences to formulate specific plans *"to fulfill these rights."*

(Similar resolutions adopted in 4 panels. Others asked a similar conference in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia sponsored by the Federal Government in autumn of 1966; that statewide, local and regional conferences *"to fulfill these rights"* be held using Council's Report as basis, and sponsored by the Federal Government if state refused; and that conferees try to set up similar local conferences, and involve business leaders.)

That the report of the Council be endorsed, recognizing that its recommendations are neither precise, inflexible or exhaustive.

(Similar resolution passed in 7 panels. By implication passed in all panels.)

That the United States Commission on Civil Rights organize a permanent National Conference on Civil Rights, to meet periodically in sections on specific problems and annually in general session, the secretariat to be supplied by the Civil Rights Commission.

That the Council be retained as an ongoing body to implement action of this Conference and that the President, in cooperation with the Council, call special conferences of selected groups to report what they will do to implement the Council's recommendations.

That the Planning Council remain in session for one year to receive responses to recommendations.

That another similar conference be called in one year and delegates to this one be deputized to implement its recommendations on the local level.

That a further report on the Conference be mailed to all delegates.

That each conferee be mailed answers on what the Federal Government plans to do to eradicate its continued participation in discriminatory practices.

That the President appoint a post-Conference committee to report in one year on programs in implementing the Council's report.

(Adopted by 2 panels.)

That the Council's final report be more specific in defining which Federal agency has the responsibility for taking the initiative.

That the President delegate to the Vice President the responsibility for coordinating and expediting Federal Civil Rights programs.

That the President should establish the necessary enforcement agencies to ensure that the conclusions of the Conference will be enforced on the Federal, state and local levels.

(Another panel adopted a similar resolution urging that the best and most effective means for carrying out the Conference recommendations be pursued.)

That the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights be made permanent.

That the President emphasize the principle of maximum feasible participation in Federal programs of the members of the community to be served.

That more women be added to the White House Council, and on all committees set up by the White House, where their interests are involved.

That the Conference seek goals of equal opportunity for all disadvantaged minorities.

That the panel registers its disappointment at the conspicuous absence of high-level representatives of big business in Conference policy-making, and that the President should call on business to do more to achieve its goals.

That the President issue an executive order directing HEW and all other Federal agencies to require strict compliance with Title VI and regulations and guidelines issued thereunder.

(Adopted by 2 panels. Two other panels asked Presidential action to insure prompt and effective compliance with Title VI.)

That Title VI be amended to apply to state, county and municipal governments.

(Another resolution asked that the Federal Government cease using funds in projects which involve discriminatory practices by state and local governments.)

That the President give the Secretary of HEW a clear mandate and specific instructions to enforce Title VI for all hospitals, health facilities and health departments which are not in total compliance.

That Title VI be vigorously enforced as applied to health associations, and a national conference on health of Negroes and other minority groups be called.

(Another panel resolution asked that provisions of greatly expanded health facilities get greater emphasis in the final report of the Council.)

That enforcement of Title VI with respect to discrimination on account of sex is as important as discrimination on account of race.

That programs for health and welfare for minority groups be strengthened, and the Federal Government intervene directly when necessary.

That an all-out effort be made through all communications media to have acts of discrimination viewed as criminal acts destructive of respect for law.

(Four panels asked for activities of this nature. One asked that the Federal Government assume responsibility for a vigorous program of public education toward a national policy of equality for all. Another panel resolution asked the Government to inform people about Civil Rights. Another asked large amounts of funds for public relations activities to achieve equal opportunity.)

That each conferee dedicate himself to see: (1) that violation of Civil Rights be promptly reported; (2) that his community becomes concerned; (3) that local efforts are increased. (Prefaced by statement that the goals of the Conference are not only the responsibility of the Federal Government.)

That because the Conference recommendations will involve tremendous manpower needs, a crash program to recruit and train such manpower be started.

That (1) poverty funds be channeled into areas of need even if local authorities object, (2) that jobs created be filled by the unemployed, train the trainable and channel more poverty funds into the lives of the poor, and (3) provide housing, job training and economic assistance to those forced off farms.

That the President appoint a commission to oversee all programs in Mississippi and give it power to act in cases of discrimination.

That the Federal Government make an effort to involve the total metropolitan community, not just the core cities, in obtaining equality of opportunity in jobs, housing, education, civil rights, etc.

That the Federal Government enforce its own laws and demonstrate its belief in them.

That the Administration and Congress fortify the rights of direct and concerted community action on the part of victims of social injustice.

That the Senate should ratify the Genocide Convention (two panels) and the 1965 Convention on all forms of racial discrimination.

That a U.S. Museum of Negro History be established.

That Negro art be given emphasis in cultural programs.

That the Conference express its outrage that the American Medical Association suggests that Medicare patients may be treated on separate days and in separate offices, and that legislation be enacted to prohibit this discrimination on acount of economic circumstances.

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WELFARE

That the Council's Report on Economic Security and Welfare be approved except hibit this discrimination on account of as modified by other resolutions.

(The sense of this was implicit in all panels.)

INTRODUCTION

Add to Introduction the thought that *"a full employment economy is essential to all of this."*

Include as a goal *"economic security for all disadvantaged people."*

I. METROPOLITAN JOBS COUNCILS

That such Councils be created only under Federal charter with adequate provision to ensure representation of Negroes and other minority groups in policy-making positions.

That such Councils be established only when they will not duplicate existing agencies.

That Economic Opportunity grants to cities be contingent upon agreement of recipient cities to organize and utilize the proposed Jobs Councils to promote the project.

II. RURAL WORKERS

That Negroes be given preferential treatment in rural post office jobs and all other government agencies because of previous discrimination.

(Discussion rejected a quota system in proportion to population, and implication that qualifications for jobs be downgraded.)

That the Federal Government face up to the problem of rural farm workers and begin to provide basic and technical education to enable them to meet the challenge of automation. Also provide housing and welfare services, such as medical and nursing care.

(Similar resolutions in 2 panels. In another panel, the preamble had a reference to U.S. burning of villages in Viet Nam, which proponent of resolution refused to remove, and the resolution was defeated.)

That the Federal Government supply trailer homes for tenant farmers driven off farms because of registrar and voting participation.

That the Federal Government create a rural jobs task force, and reorganize the Department of Agriculture and Extension Services in all states, especially the county agents.

That the Federal Government initiate a strong immediate program in rural housing and employment, locate new government operations in remote counties of the South, and urge industry to locate new plants in the South.

That the Council clarify its recommendation regarding adjustment of rural Negroes to cities, to make clear that it does not suggest any encouragement of rural workers to migrate to urban areas.

That a program be undertaken in rural areas to: (1) build one million new houses and repair 2.5 million dilapidated ones in the next 10 years; (2) desegregate Southern hospitals and build new rural ones; (3) rebuild 30,000 sewer and water systems; (4) build 50,000 new rural classrooms; (5) encourage self-help, low-cost housing; (6) begin on a crash basis to upgrade skills of Southern Negro professionals; and (7) make use of mobile units in all government services.

(A motion to do the same things in urban areas was also adopted.)

III. GOVERNMENT FINANCED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

That the Federal Government assume the responsibility not only for training workers but for creating jobs, with equal employment opportunities, in the public sector.

That the Federal Government initiate for the unemployed a massive public works program under direct Federal management, and open state, county and municipal jobs for equal employment opportunities (stated to be directed to the Alabama situation).

That a *"TVA"* be set up for economically deprived areas, to coordinate public works projects and human rehabilitation.

That the President declare Watts an *"economic disaster area"* and appoint a Federal coordinator to expedite programs there and in similar areas.

That a *"CCC"* be established in Watts for its restoration and for rebuilding.

That the President immediately initiate WPA and CCC type programs in depressed urban areas to relieve unemployment.

That the President issue an Executive Order declaring a 1966 national job crisis, and fund crash work programs in Los Angeles, New York, Chicago and other areas where clearly required.

(Passed by 2 panels.)

IV. COMPREHENSIVE EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING AND COUNSELING FOR NEGRO YOUTH

That the program of education and training for deprived youth be further extended, and a program be instituted to rehabilitate youth who get into trouble early.

That financial incentives be provided to encourage wider participation in training of people by industry, labor, and government.

That skilled workers be used in vocational training programs, rather than only certified teachers.

That a program like the Opportunity Industrialization Center in Philadelphia be adopted and promoted by the Federal Government, as it has Head Start, and OEO grants to cities be made contingent on the setting up of such a program.

That Federal, state and local governments, private employers, and colleges take affirmative action to bring under-educated youth into professional positions.

That special attention be given to education, counseling, and job opportunities for Negro women and girls.

V. AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS TO PROVIDE JOBS

That penalties be provided which will in fact discourage discrimination in employment at all levels of government and by unions and industry.

That government be effectively restrained from using economic sanctions against persons exercising their Civil Rights, and be vigilant in preventing use of similar sanctions by private organizations or individuals.

That the Federal Government negotiate with common carriers regarding their discriminatory practices, and if they persist invoke Title VII.

That the Federal Government establish a task force to recommend to the President methods and procedures which more effectively get Negroes into business ownership and managements.

(Majority vote.)

That OEO fund programs for developing and improving Negro business, such as construction, co-ops, etc.

That the Federal Government establish a task force to investigate employment opportunities in Miami, Florida. (This is related to Negroes having to compete with the flood of Cubans.)

That the coverage of Title VII be extended to state and local government employees (passed by 2 panels) and that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) be given the power to issue cease and desist orders.

(See also General Resolutions, where a similar provision was adopted by 9 panels.)

That the Federal Government undertake immediate crash programs to upgrade skills of Negro professional government workers in the South to compensate for deficient training under segregation, and that all Federal employees in the South be clearly instructed to make known and give equal service to all.

That the Federal Government reconsider its testing system to give more opportunity to those with ability but lesser grammatical skills.

That special scrutiny be given to personnel and classification officers who use subtle discriminatory measures in staffing government agencies.

That the U.S. Employment Service be examined to root out discriminatory practices.

That new Federal Civil Rights agencies be investigated to determine the number of Negroes in key policy positions.

That the panel register its disappointment with the absence of representatives of big business at the decision and policy level, and ask the President to call upon and mobilize the resources of big business to undertake special programs to bring Negroes into upper echelons of corporate enterprise.

That the President call a national conference of religious leaders from various faiths to encourage use of their economic power in efforts such as Project Equality designed to accelerate fair employment practices.

That the Federal Government investigate a luggage company in Virginia and, if it does not end its discriminatory practices, invoke Title VI.

(Close vote.)

That the Civil Service system be investigated, because top officials cannot fire regional officials who do not carry out the spirit and intent of civil rights programs.

That private agencies contracting for Federal services should be required to sign non-discrimination in employment affidavits.

That the non-discrimination regulations of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training be vigorously enforced.

That EEOC examine State FEPC enforcement procedures.

That immediate attention be focused on the recruitment, training, and employment of Negroes and other minority group members in HEW programs.

That both government and private industry should be encouraged to employ persons with arrest records when the circumstances of the police record and the nature of the job suggest no real risk.

VI. INSTITUTE SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

That a U.S. Department of Consumers be established, with Consumer Education and Assistance Officers in economically depressed areas.

(Some panels made similar proposals under "*Education,*" which are summarized in that section.)

That day care centers be subsidized on a national basis by Federal and state funds, and legislation be enacted "*covering maternity care and job security.*" (The mover indicated he wished the OEO program implemented on a national basis.)

(A second panel's similar resolution on day care centers stated that funds should be available for construction as well as operation.)

That the implementation of the employment provisions of the Council's Report be put in the hands of EEOC, rather than the Department of Labor, and that the EEOC budget be expanded accordingly.

That a national clearing house of employment opportunities be established in the Department of Labor (explained as not inconsistent with, but a different way to express, the Council's recommendation on federalization of employment services).

That a structure be created to coordinate the work of HEW, Labor and OEO for manpower training.

VII. INCOME MAINTENANCE AND LABOR STANDARDS

That the pending minimum wage bill be enacted.

(Passed by 3 panels.)

That in the Council's Report, Section VIII, 2, add:

"(*d*) *establishing Federal minimum standards for unemployment compensation programs concerning benefits, durations, coverage and disqualifications to provide an above-poverty income for workers who lose their jobs.*"

"(*e*) *improving state workmen's compensation programs, including payments of attorney's fees, to make them a realistic means of providing a decent standard of living for workers who are injured.*"

(Another panel passed a resolution to establish Federal standards for unemployment compensation.)

That household service workers (1) must be covered by state minimum wage laws, (2) must receive social security benefits, and (3) should have access to training programs to upgrade skills and provide steady employment.

(A substantially identical resolution was adopted by 5 panels.)

That provisions be included in Section VIII of the Council's Report dealing with the need to protect migrant workers, including portal-to-portal pay when traveling between farms, and pay during machine breakdown.

That Federal labor laws be amended to afford protection and encouragement of the rights of all workers to organize and bargain collectively (related to needs of agricultural workers).

(A similar resolution in favor of extending labor legislation to farmers was adopted in another panel.)

That a program of guaranteed minimum income be established with the family as the unit of service.

(Another resolution approved serious consideration of a minimum income allowance.)

VIII. WELFARE

That No. 5, p. 31 be amended to read: *"Residence requirements for public assistance should be eliminated or the states should be reimbursed for payments to non-residents."*

(Resolutions favoring no residence requirements adopted by 2 other panels.)

That eligibility for welfare should be established by application and affidavit only.

(2 panels.)

That nocturnal raids by welfare authorities be penalized.

That rent ceilings, where appropriate, be established for slum housing, with reduction of rents proportionately as housing is substandard.

(A similar resolution was defeated in another panel.)

That the Federal Government supervise the use of Federal funds to ensure the economic and political freedom of welfare recipients.

That welfare service be made available to all children, and the failures of the known father to support the children should be no bar.

(2 panels.)

That the Federal Government establish a budget and contract directly with agencies to provide welfare services where they are not provided by local governments.

That bills by Congressmen Hawkins and Farbstein now pending in the Public Works Committee be supported to make the Economic Development Act meaningfully operative for Negroes.

That the Federal Government should:

(1) refuse new and cancel old contracts wherever discrimination against Negroes exists;

(2) extend the Fair Labor Standards Act to eliminate the discrimination now existing against Negroes and other working Americans;

(3) establish a $2.00 minimum wage now;

(4) extend National Labor Relations Act to every worker, including non-profit agencies and agricultural workers;

(5) repeal Section 14(b);

(6) spend $50 billion more in the next 10 years on needs of housing, health, education, community service and job training.

That the OEO policy should be changed to make birth control services available to all women.

That all legal barriers to interracial marriage, adoptions, foster home programs, and all personal relations be eliminated.

That there should be built into every poverty program features to eliminate and penalize segregation and discrimination.

That the Federal Government should make every effort to remove political control from programs designed to help the poor, and mayors and governors should be excluded from chairmanships.

EDUCATION

That the Council's recommendations on education are endorsed, except as modified by other resolutions.

(This was implicit in all panels.)

I. EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENT

That the Federal Government establish a *"triggering point"* for the flow of funds to substandard schools, irrespective of the wishes of the local school authorities.

(Similar resolution adopted by 2 panels.)

That the Federal Government expend funds for education outside of the existing formal educational establishments. (Proponent maintained that schools are doing a poor job, and funds should go to Civil Rights organizations.)

That school boards should provide flexibility in order to make equally available to all children the community's specialized programs.

That the Secretary of HEW should have discretion to reduce or waive matching grants in states which are financially unable to meet the requirements.

That the Federal Government, through HEW, assume responsibility for the quality of education in all parts of the United States (explained that in some areas it is deliberately poor).

II. REDUCTION OF RACIAL CONCENTRATION

That the President instruct HEW to require strict compliance with Title VI, and use his own powers to the maximum extent possible to secure these rights.

(Resolutions in 8 panels expressed concern that Title VI was not being adequately or strictly enforced by HEW; and, in some cases, that more funds were needed.)

(The resolution was accompanied in several instances by lone *"Whereas"* statements, setting out a picture of non-enforcement. There was often considerable discussion of the *"Whereas"* clauses.)

(In one instance the resolution was amended to specify that funds should be withheld from any school that refuses to accept the HEW guidelines.

In another instance, a resolution to withhold all funds from a city or state that refused to desegregate its programs was, after much discussion, withdrawn.)

That the Department of Justice be urged to initiate a *"crash program"* to see that school districts comply with court desegregation orders, and use or get authority to direct schools to comply with HEW guidelines.

(Resolutions in 6 panels urged that compliance with HEW guidelines be required. In 3 panels resolutions specifically opposed *"freedom of choice."* Two other panels asked guidelines include *de facto* segregation.)

That the Panel expressed its dissatisfaction with the pace, scope, and significance of Federal efforts to integrate schools, especially the actions of HEW.

That the Federal Government fund some of the self-help programs like Operation Exodus in Boston.

That HEW adopt guidelines which will facilitate the changing of grade designations in community schools so that total integration would come into effect automatically and immediately.

That the Federal Government examine changes in the enrollments of private schools after integration of the public schools to determine whether it should continue any subsidies.

That the Federal Government support Senator Edward Kennedy's amendment to provide funds for schools that wish to provide transportation to end segregation.

That Congress pass a law like that of Massachusetts relating to the imbalance of educational structures and make Federal assistance contingent on integration of educational institutions.

(2 panels.)

That Federal funds be available to local school districts through the states on general rather than specific conditions, so that faster and more effective integration can be achieved.

That the Office of Education make the eradication of discrimination and segregation its number one priority.

That Title VI be amended to apply to desegregation in public education of non-certified personnel.

That the Federal Government take steps forthwith to eradicate the almost total absence of Negroes in administration and policy-making positions in the educational machinery.

(Similar resolution adopted in 2 panels.)

That the recommendation of the Council regarding special efforts to integrate teachers be extended to apply *"on a college and university level."*

That the Federal Government promote programs to correct the firing of Negro teachers on the grounds of race, and help discharged Negro teachers obtain employment.

III. QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

That all teachers take a course in human relations, including teaching and living in mixed and culturally deprived areas.

That the Federal Government, in cooperation with state and local school boards, set up seminars to prepare teachers for special problems of ghetto and integrated schools.

(A similar resolution in another panel asked expansion of Title VI to provide such in-service training.)

That the National Teachers Corps be fully funded.

That appointed or elected school board members should be only those who favor equal educational opportunity for all, reduction of racial concentration, and improvement in the quality of education.

That local school boards be urged to use textbooks that reflect the total history of all people.

(2 panels.)

(Similar resolutions, that funds be made available to publish textbooks that include Negro contributions, and for a bibliography of Negro history and life to be put in all school libraries and that history textbooks be revised to reflect noteworthy deeds of all peoples, adopted in another panel.)

That guidelines to prevent dropouts be established.

That all states adopt a compulsory school attendance law applicable up to 18 years of age.

That major emphasis be given to providing two years of post-high school education; that a compulsory school attendance law should cover up to 20 years of age.

That the Federal Government support post-high school compensatory education to enable more Negro children to go to public colleges and universities.

That educational parks be endorsed.

That increased attention be given to vocational guidance, as well as to vocational programs, at the elementary, secondary and college level.

That the statement on pre-school education should be more strongly worded.

IV. OTHER

That the Federal Government be more flexible in funding private and community agencies that are trying to reach drop-outs and force-outs.

That in view of the multi-faceted attack on educational problems of the Negro in ghettos and in the South a national coordinating committee with paid staff be established to: (a) coordinate Federal activities; and (b) foster cooperation among private agencies.

That the President should create a standing Presidential commission for integrated education to work with Federal, state and local authorities and private groups to promote integrated education without waiting for change in residential patterns.

That the President call a special conference of educators to discuss ways of implementing the Council's educational recommendations.

That there should be greater dissemination of information about existing programs.

That the Federal Government provide funds to implement existing programs as rapidly as possible.

That National Student Defense loans should be continued on the same basis as originally conceived (explained as opposed to a recent amendment.)

That the Federal Government should reestablish the unused portion of the G.I. Bill on education.

That the Federal Government should make a more careful check on the use of educational funds allotted to local governments (discussion explained that funds were not always used for the purposes for which they were allotted).

That a Department of Education be created.

(Carried by a narrow margin.)

That educational testing standards, especially those used for ability grouping, be examined to eliminate those which tended to favor certain parts of the community.

That the Federal Government give assistance to leisure education and recreation.

That HEW introduce programs of supplementary education to use child guidance, social, and health workers to enhance the learning skills of public school children.

That the President and the Federal Government take steps to see that more Federal funds go to smaller colleges, especially Negro colleges, rather than to *"the big 25."*

That a section be developed in the Council's Report on consumer education with special courses on buying food and furniture, and on the conditional sales, with special emphasis on adult training.

HOUSING

That the Council's Report on housing be approved except as modified by the resolutions passed.

(Specifically adopted by 2 panels.)

I. FREEDOM OF CHOICE

That Title IV (Housing Title of pending Civil Rights Bill) be strengthened by providing for administrative enforcement.

(Three panels. See also General Resolutions, where this was part of a Resolution passed by 10 panels.)

That Congress be urged to enact a Fair Housing Act of 1966 (1) prohibiting discrimination in housing, (2) establishing an Equal Opportunity in Housing Commission, with power to initiate action on its own, and with $8 million in funds.

That the Federal Government enact legislation to guarantee:

(1) equal opportunity in purchasing a house;

(2) the same treatment for all in renting (except in two-family dwellings);

(3) equal treatment in securing mortgages;

(4) equal treatment for all while living in their homes;

(5) equal treatment from real estate agents;

(6) punishment for those who aid or incite violations.

Also establish a National Commission with state, county and local units to enforce the Federal housing laws.

That the President and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) exercise all their powers against discrimination by builders, renters and financial institutions where government funds or credit is involved.

(2 panels.)

That the present Executive Order be amended to cover all housing now existing where a Federal mortgage guarantee is involved.

(A resolution in another panel asked extension of the Order to cover all lending institutions supervised by the Federal Government, and made it clear that the panel also endorsed the Civil Rights Act of 1966.)

That the Federal National Mortgage Association should become a primary lender for Negro mortage loan applicants.

(2 panels.)

That the President call a national conference of religious leaders to broaden support for *"Project Equality"* and the investment of church funds and the funds of individuals and non-profit groups in integrated housing.

(Three other panels approved resolutions calling on businesses and individuals who believed in integrated housing to invest funds in such housing.)

That the panel endorse and encourage the community action programs recommended by the Council to prepare white neighborhoods for integration.

That the Federal Government encourage the leadership of local communities to foster integrated communities, and insist that all workable programs include plans for this.

That the Federal Government continue to promote legislation to enable minority groups to move into all-white communities.

That the Federal Government bar as an urban developer anyone who discriminates in housing anywhere in that locality.

II. HOUSING FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES

That the Rent Supplement program be fully funded.

(2 panels. One panel asked funds of *"at least $150,000."*)

That the provision for local veto in the Rent Supplement program be deleted.

That the Demonstration Cities Bill be promptly enacted with provision for displaced families to be relocated in other parts of the city or outside the city.

That HUD and OEO fund the administrative costs of non-profit housing corporations using 221(d)(3) and make revolving funds available to such corporations.

That 221(d)(3) be extended to make widows and/or single persons eligible for FHA mortgage insurance, moderate-income housing erected by private concerns.

That a purchasing subsidy, in addition to a rent subsidy, should be made available.

(A similar resolution with reference to passage of the *"Sullivan bill"* was approved by another panel.)

That there should be a program to lease housing for low and moderate income families.

That the Council's proposal for a rural housing development corporation not be limited to migrant workers and older persons.

That a massive Federal housing program construct one million new rural homes and repair two-and-a-half million others during the next ten years.

III. SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES AND NEW TOWNS

That the Council's recommendation regarding metropolitan-wide desegregation plans to qualify for Federal aid, should also state: *"according to a timetable approved by the Federal Government."*

That the Council's recommendation regarding metropolitan area public housing authorities should read, "be *encouraged* and enabled.

That the recommendations of the Council's Report on aid to suburban housing be conditioned on the provision of a wide spectrum of housing, including public housing.

IV. REVITALIZING AND INTEGRATING THE GHETTO

That the Council's recommendations requiring local authorities to demonstrate adequate housing available for those displaced by clearance projects be endorsed, except that it should specifically include those displaced by Federal highway programs.

That immediate steps be taken to halt racial and low-income concentration through high-rise public housing; that all public housing be in scattered sites; and that immediate steps be taken to reduce the concentration of Negroes in public housing projects.

(Another similar resolution suggested assignments to public housing to reflect the racial proportion in the community. Another would give an administrative agency power to bring action if necessary.)

That in Demonstration Cities, and elsewhere, there be provision for social services in public housing projects.

V. OTHER

That the Federal Government should insist on strict enforcement of health, housing and building codes before funds are made available to any community.

That no funds under Federal housing laws be made available to any community if discrimination is causing a housing shortage and unless it establishes an agency to keep an up-to-date inventory of all housing available.

That a National Housing Conference be called.

That industry be encouraged wherever possible to provide integrated housing for its employees, and that the Federal Government encourage Federal contractors to do so.

That the Department of Defense through its Base Commanders make use of off-limits power to ensure that open housing is available.

That the Federal Government expend funds for housing *"outside the existing formal housing establishments,"* and funds should go to existing Civil Rights groups.

That the Civil Rights organizations be asked to stage a second *"March on Washington"* in support of open occupancy.

(Defeated.)

That the Federal Government address itself to local laws that are used to prevent residential integration, such as large-lot zoning.

(Defeated.)

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

That the Council's Report on the Administration of Justice be approved, except as modified by other resolutions.

(Implicit in other panels.)

I. PROTECTION OF NEGROES AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS

That needed legislative or administrative action be taken, authorizing and requiring FBI agents to arrest for violence against Civil Rights workers.

(2 panels.)

That the panel is concerned at the failure of the Department of Justice to prosecute Southern local and state law officers who brutalize and harass citizens; that the force of Federal law officials be expanded; and that the President investigate the constitutional possibility of the existence of Federal police power.

That the FBI hire 100 additional agents to enforce Civil Rights laws and that Negroes be hired among this group.

That no person be allowed to serve as an FBI agent in his home state, and no assignment to any state shall be for more than three years.

That J. Edgar Hoover be fired; that more Negroes be hired by the FBI; and that Congress investigate the number of Negro agents in the FBI and its enforcement policy regarding Civil Rights laws.

(Passed by a majority vote.)

(Two resolutions calling for Hoover's resignation were tabled by a majority vote in one panel, and a resolution to remove him lost in another.)

That the President ask for $2 billion to enforce Civil Rights laws.

That in suits for damages for denials of Civil Rights, counsel be provided at Government expense, cost to be paid by the defendant.

(Similar resolution that lawyers for poverty clients in Civil Rights cases be paid by the Federal Government passed by another panel.)

That the Council's recommendation for Federal legislation to give compensation to victims of racial violence should be changed to permit the victim, including an organization such as a church, to be compensated by the individuals responsible, or, if that is not possible, by the Federal Government.

That Section 1983, Title 43, should be amended to make a city liable for damages caused by its officers who deprive persons of rights protected by Section 1983 and any other rights protected by the Constitution.

II. EQUAL JUSTICE

That the President should appoint Negro judges and court officials in Southern Federal courts.

That when, under Title II, a pattern of discrimination is discovered, this should trigger Title I.

That when Negroes are defendants, proof that the prosecution has invariably exercised its peremptory challenges to strike Negroes should be enough to trigger application of the Administration's jury discrimination bill.

That the Council's recommendation for legal aid centers should be broadened to include other types of legal assistance.

That jury duty should not be denied on grounds of sex, as well as race.

(2 panels.)

That Section 201 of the 1966 Civil Rights Act be amended to read: *"It shall be unlawful to make any distinction on account of race, color, sex, religion, national origin or economic status in the qualifications for service and in the selection of any person to serve on grand or petit juries in any state."*

That (1) lists from which jurors are drawn should be made available to all counsel well in advance of trial; (2) the rights of counsel to examine jurors be substantially extended; and (3) information on the race and sex of jurors be made available to counsel.

That literacy tests for jurors be prohibited, except when judge rules it necessary in a particular case.

(Defeated.)

That appointments of judges be conditional on psychological tests of their attitudes, etc.

(Defeated.)

III. POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

That (1) the Federal Government make available resources for the professionalization of police work; (2) see to the hiring and upgrading of Negroes in the enforcement agencies under its jurisdiction; and (3) investigate whether membership by a policeman in racist groups is a violation of the Civil Rights of minority groups.

(Approved by 6 panels. One panel amended [2] to include *"other minority groups."* In another panel [3] was eliminated on objection that it implied guilt by association.)

That the President should call a conference of law enforcement officials and community leaders and take steps immediately to *"soften the encounters between the people in crisis areas and the police."*

(4 panels.)

That the Federal Government call a conference of chiefs of police and other law enforcement officers to encourage a positive attitude toward the provisions of Title III.

That the President should encourage police departments to adopt positive programs of police-community relations, and discourage a *"get tough"* policy, including use of police dogs.

(Similar resolutions in 2 other panels asked local government to institute programs in human relations for recruits and staff; and the Federal Government to provide funds for workshops in human relations for police and community groups.)

That all-civilian police review boards be established.

(Another panel added a provision that the board have independent power of investigation. Another asked *"grassroots"* representation on all police boards. Another asked that citizen complaints require investigation by a police board.)

That there be an elimination of police practices and procedures which discriminate against the poor and disadvantaged, such as stop-and-frisk, arrests for investigation, improper arrests for vagrancy and loitering, improper search and seizure, and inadequate representation by counsel.

(2 panels.)

That the duties of the police, including the FBI, should be expanded to include community services, and the military-type structure of police departments should be abolished.

That the good offices of the Federal Government should be invoked to provide a study of the proper function of the police in contemporary United States.

That police training should be improved.

That standards be set up by states for recruitment and hiring of police.

That there should be better police, with a decent salary (over $5,000).

That the Federal Government seek to expunge the police records of first offenders who have *"over a reasonable period of time"* complied with the law.

IV. OTHER

That the Federal Government establish guidelines for the use of summons rather than arrest procedures which require bail or bond in the case of minor crimes and misdemeanors.

That the use of the release of prisoners on their own recognizance be substantially extended.

That juveniles receive due process in substantially the same manner as adults.

That the case of every prisoner now in jail be reviewed to see which are illegally confined, and all jails be integrated.

That people in Mississippi be authorized to carry arms and to have them in their homes.

(Defeated.)

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